CIVILISATION IN THE BUDDHIST AGE

B.C. 320 to A.D. 500

BY

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BUDDHIST PERIOD, B.C. 320 TO A.D. 500.

CHAPTER I.

BUDDHIST SACRED LITERATURE.

IN the sixth century before Christ, India witnessed the commencement of a great revolution. Her ancient religion, which the Hindu Aryans had practised and proclaimed for fourteen centuries, had degenerated into forms. The gods of the Rig Veda, whom the ancient Rishis had invoked and worshipped lovingly and fervently had come to be regarded as so many names; and Indra and Ushas raised no distinct ideas and no grateful emotions. The simple libations of the Soma-juice, or offerings of milk, corn, or flesh, which the Rishis of old had offered with a fervent heart to their gods, had developed into cumbrous ceremonials, elaborate rites, unmeaning forms. The descendants or successors of those Rishis had now stepped forth as a powerful and hereditary caste, and claimed the right to perform elaborate religious rites and utter sacred prayers for the people. The people were taught to believe that they earned merit by having these rites performed and prayers uttered by hired priests. The religious instinct, the grateful emotions which had inspired the composers of the Vedic hymns, were dead; vast ceremonials, dead forms, remained.

A reaction had taken place. About the eleventh century before Christ, *i.e.*, five centuries before the time of which we are now speaking, earnest and thoughtful

Hindus had ventured to go beyond the wearisome rituals of the Brahmana literature, and had inquired into the mysteries of the soul and its Creator. The composers of the Upanishads had dared to conceive the bold idea that all animate and inanimate nature proceeded from One Universal Deity, and were portions of One Pervading Soul. Inquiries were made into the mysteries of death and the future world, conjectures were made about the transmigration of souls, and doctrines were started containing in a crude form the salient principles of later Hindu philosophy.

But few could devote their lives to these abstruse speculations, and the abstruse philosophy which they led to. The mass of the Aryan householders,—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas,—contented themselves with performing the rites, unintelligible to them, which the Brahmanas had laid down and the Sutras had condensed. The rules of social and domestic life were similarly condensed for the people in the Sutras, and all the learning and science known to the age were also codified in the Sutra form.

Such was the state of things in India in the sixth century before Christ. Religion in its true sense had been replaced by forms. Excellent social and moral rules were disfigured by the unhealthy distinctions of caste, by exclusive privileges for Brahmans, by cruel laws for Sudras. Such exclusive caste privileges did not help to improve the Brahmans themselves. As a community they became grasping and covetous, ignorant and pretentious, until Brahman Sutrakaras themselves had to censure the abuse in the strongest terms. For the Sudras, who had come under the shelter of the Aryan religion, there was no religious instruction, no religious observance, no social respect. Despised and degraded in the community in which they lived, they sighed for a

change. And the invidious distinction became unbearable as they increased in number, pursued various useful industries, owned lands and villages, and gained in influence and power. Thus society was still held in the cast-iron mould which it had long outgrown; and the social, religious, and legal literature of the day still proclaimed and upheld the cruel injustice against the Sudra long after the Sudra had become civilised and industrious, and a worthy member of society.

To an earnest and inquisitive mind, to a sympathetic and benevolent soul, there was something anomalous in all this. Gautama of the Sakya race was versed in the Hindu learning and religion of the age, but he pondered and asked if what he had learnt could be efficacious or true. His righteous soul rebelled against the unrighteous distinctions between man and man; and his benevolent heart hankered for a means to help the humble, the oppressed, and the lowly. The dead ceremonials and rites which householders practised appeared as vain and fruitless to him as the penances and mortifications which hermits voluntarily underwent in forests. The beauty of a holy life, of a sinless benevolent career, flashed before his mind's eye as the perfection of human destiny, as the heaven on earth; and, with the earnest conviction of a prophet and a reformer, he proclaimed this as the essence of religion. His world-embracing sympathy led him to proclaim this method of self-culture and holy living to suffering humanity, and he invited the poor and the lowly to end their sufferings by cultivating virtue, by eschewing passions and evil desires, and by spreading brotherly love and universal peace. The Brahman and the Sudra, the high and the low, were the same in his eyes,—all could equally effect their salvation by a holy life, and he invited all to embrace his catholic religion of love. Mankind responded to the touching appeal,

and Buddhism in the course of a few centuries became the prevailing faith, not of a sect or a country, but of the continent of Asia.*

Nevertheless, it would be historically wrong to suppose that Gautama Buddha consciously set himself up as the founder of a new religion. On the contrary, he believed to the last that he was proclaiming only the ancient and pure form of religion which had prevailed among the Hindus, among Brahmans, Sramans, and others, but which had been corrupted at a later day. As a matter of fact, Hinduism recognised wandering bodies as ascetics who renounced the world, performed no Vedic rites, and passed their days in contemplation (see *ante*, Chap. VI.). Such bodies were known as Bhikkhus in the Hindu law-books, and were generally known as Sramans. Gautama founded only one sect of Sramans, among many sects which then existed, and his sect was known as that of the Sakyaputriya Sramans, to distinguish them from others. He taught them relinquishment of the world, a holy life, and pious meditation, such as all sects of Sramans recommended and practised.

What then is the distinguishing feature in Buddha's life-work which has made his tenets a religion,—and the religion of a third of the human race?

Gautama's holy and pious life, his world-embracing

* The figures given below will show approximately the proportion of Buddhists to the world's population :—

Jews	7,000,000
Christians	328,000,000
Hindus	160,000,000
Musalmans	155,000,000
Buddhists	500,000,000
Not included in the above	100,000,000
Population of the world ...	1,250,000,000

Between the fifth and tenth centuries after Christ more than one-half of the human race were Buddhists.

sympathy, his unsurpassed moral precepts, his gentle and beautiful character, stamped themselves on his teachings which were not altogether new, gathered round him the meek and the lowly, the gentlest and the best of the Aryans, struck kings on their thrones and peasants in their cottages, and united sects and castes together as in a communion of love! And the sacred recollections of his life and doings remained after he had passed away, and held together the community which cherished his teachings, and in course of time gave those teachings the character of a distinct and noble religion.

Inspired by his love of purity, and a holy, gentle life, Gautama eschewed the rites of the Vedas and the penances of ascetics alike; he insisted only on self-culture, on benevolence, on pious resignation. He knew of no caste-distinction among his Bhikkhus; he recognised no meritorious ceremonials and no meritorious penances except the practice of virtue. This is what has made Buddhism a living and life-giving religion, when so many rival forms of asceticism have withered and died away.

It will be our endeavour to indicate the salient features of the Buddhist religion and its far-reaching consequences on the history of India. Fortunately, we have no reason to complain of want of materials.

Indeed, so much has been written about Buddhism in recent years that it is almost difficult to imagine that Buddhist literature and religion were almost an unknown subject half a century ago. The distinguished missionary, Dr. Marshman, who lived and wrote in India for many years, could give no better account of Buddha in 1824 than that his worship was probably connected with the Egyptian Apis! And theories more wild and more imaginary were seriously recorded by other scholars.

Happily those days are past. Earnest inquirers and scholars have collected Oriental manuscripts and works in different Buddhist countries, have studied, published,

and translated many of them, and have thus formed a generally accurate idea of the religion, as it was first preached by Gautama, and as it was subsequently modified in different times among different nations. It is not our purpose to record here a history of the researches into Buddhism during the last half-century, but a few facts are so interesting that they cannot be passed over.

Mr. Hodgson was the English resident of Nepal from 1833 to 1843, and he was the first to collect original manuscripts on which a sober account of the religion could be based. He sent 85 bundles to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 85 to the Royal Asiatic Society of London, 30 to the India Office Library, 7 to the Bodleian Library of Oxford, and 174 to the Societe Asiatique in Paris, or to M. Burnouf personally. Mr. Hodgson also gave some account of these works and of the Buddhist religion in his essays.

The genius of Eugène Burnouf breathed life into these dead manuscripts, and his "Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism," published in 1844, was the first rational, scientific, and comprehensive account of the Buddhist religion. The fame of the eminent scholar and the great ability and philosophical acumen with which he treated the subject attracted the attention of learned Europe to this wonderful religion, and the inquiry which Burnouf started has continued to the present day, and has been fruitful of great results.

What Hodgson did in Nepal, Alexander Csoma Korosi, a Hungarian scholar, did in Thibet. The annals of literary inquiry and research have few more wonderful stories to tell than that of the single-minded devotion of this simple Hungarian. He early made up his mind to devote himself to the study of Eastern languages, and he set forth from Bucharest in 1820, without friends or money, and travelled on foot or by water on a raft till he came to Bagdad. He pushed on to Teheran, and thence started again with a caravan and came by

Khorassan to Bokhara. In 1822 he came to Kabul and thence to Lahore, and from Lahore he travelled through Kashmir to Ladak, where he finally settled. He sojourned and travelled long in these parts, and in 1831 he was at Simla, "dressed in a coarse blue cloth loose gown, extending to his heels, and a small cloth cap of the same material. He wore a grizzly beard, shunned the society of Europeans, and passed his whole time in study."* In 1832 he came to Calcutta, where he was kindly received by Dr. Wilson and Mr. James Prinsep, and resided many years. In 1842 he left Calcutta again to go to Thibet, but died of fever on his way, at Darjeeling. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has raised a monument on his grave in Darjeeling. The present writer had the mournful satisfaction of paying a visit to this grave, not many months ago.

About his work on Thibetan Buddhist books, we find all necessary information in Vol. XX. of the Asiatic Researches. Since Csoma's time other scholars have laboured in the same field of Thibetan Buddhist literature, and have added to our knowledge of the subject.

To the Rev. Samuel Beal is due the credit of procuring a complete collection of Chinese works on Buddhism. A request was made to this effect to the Japanese ambassador who visited England, and the ambassador at once acceded to the request, and on his return to Tokio ordered the entire collection known as "The Sacred Teaching of the Three Treasures" to be sent to England. The collection contains over 2000 volumes, and represents the entire series of sacred books taken during successive centuries from India to China, as also works and commentaries of native Chinese priests.

Buddhism and Buddhist scriptures were carried to Ceylon in the reign of Asoka the Great about 242 B.C., and the whole of the Buddhist scriptures, the "Three

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* Quoted in Beal's *Buddhism in China*, from Ralston's *Thibetan Tales.*

Baskets," exist to this day in Ceylon, as we will see further on, in the Pali language, and in almost the identical shape in which they were taken there over two thousand years ago. A number of eminent scholars, Turnour, Fausböll, Oldenberg, Childers, Spence Hardy, Rhys Davids, Max Muller, Weber, and others, have worked on these materials, and much of the Pali scriptures has been published, and the most important portions of them have been translated.

Burma too has contributed to our knowledge of Buddhism, and a great deal of information on Burmese Buddhism is embodied in Bigandet's life of the Gautama, first published in 1868. All countries near and around India have furnished us with valuable records and contributions towards a scholarlike knowledge of this great religion. India alone,—the home of that religion,—the country where it flourished more or less for nearly fifteen centuries,—has kept no memorials worth the name of that noble faith! So complete has been the destruction of Buddhism, Buddhist monasteries, and Buddhist records in India!

Thanks to the researches of the scholars whom we have named above, the English-reading public have sufficient materials before them now for studying the developments of Buddhism in the different countries of the world,—in China, Japan, and Thibet, in Burma and Ceylon. English readers can thus study the progress of the religion in its various phases, at different ages, and among different conditions of life and civilisation.

The historian of India must, however, forego that pleasant and most interesting task. The developments which Buddhism received in China, and Thibet, and Burma, have no direct bearing on Indian history. It is his duty, therefore, to select from the materials before him those works only which illustrate the history of *Early Buddhism in India.* It is necessary for him to go to the fountain source of the information which is

available, and to place his reliance on those works specially which illustrate the rise of Buddhism in India in the Rationalistic Period.

The forms of Buddhism prevailing in Nepal and Thibet, China and Japan, are called Northern Buddhism, while the forms prevailing in Ceylon and Burma are called Southern Buddhism. The Northern Buddhists furnish us with scanty materials directly illustrating the religion in its earliest form in India. For the Northern nations embraced Buddhism some centuries after the Christian Era, and the works which they then obtained from India do not represent the earliest form of Indian Buddhism. The Lalita Vistara, a most important work of the Northern Buddhists, is only a gorgeous poem; it is no more a biography of Gautama than the Paradise Lost is a biography of Jesus. It was composed probably in Nepal in the second or third or fourth century after Christ, although it contains passages,—the Gathas,—which are of a very much older date. In China, Buddhism was introduced from the first century after Christ, but did not become the state religion until the fourth century, and the works on Buddhism which were then carried by Chinese pilgrims from India from century to century, and translated into the Chinese language, do not illustrate the earliest phase of Buddhism in India. Buddhism spread in Japan in the fifth century, and in Thibet in the seventh century after Christ. Thibet has drifted far away from primitive Buddhism in India, and has adopted forms and ceremonies which were unknown to Gautama and his followers.

On the other hand, the Southern Buddhists furnish us with the most valuable materials for our purpose. The sacred books of the Southern Buddhists are known by the inclusive name of the Three Pitakas; and there is evidence to show that these Pitakas now extant in Ceylon, are substantially identical with the cannon as settled in the Council of Patna about 242 B.C.

The date of Buddha's death was for a long time believed to 543 B.C.; but many facts ascertained within the last thirty years lead to the conclusion that the great reformer was born about 557 B.C., and died in 477 B.C. A Council of 500 monks was held in Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha, immediately after his death, and they chanted the sacred laws together to fix them on their memory. A hundred years later, *i.e.*, in 377 B.C., a second Council was held in Vesali, mainly for the discussion and settlement of ten questions on which difference of opinion had arisen. A hundred and thirty-five years after this, the great Asoka, king of the Magadhas, held a third Council in Patna about 242 B.C., to finally settle the religious works or Pitakas.

It is well known that Asoka was a most zealous Buddhist, and sent missionaries to foreign countries, and even to Syria, Macedon, and Egypt, to preach the religion. He sent his own son Mahinda to Tissa, the king of Ceylon, about 242 B.C., and Mahinda took with him a number of Buddhist monks, and thus conveyed to Ceylon the Pitakas as just settled in the Council at Patna.* It is needless to say that Tissa, the king of Ceylon, was glad to embrace the religion which Asoka recommended and his son preached, and thus Ceylon embraced Buddhism in the third century B.C. About a hundred and fifty years after this these Pitakas were formally reduced to writing, and thus we have the most authentic account of the earliest form of Buddhism in Magadha in the Pali Pitakas of Ceylon.

These facts will show that the Three Pitakas of the Southern Buddhists can claim a date anterior to 242 B.C. For no work which could not claim a respectable antiquity was included as canon by the Council of Patna. Indeed,

* Dipavansa, XII. According to this historical epic of Ceylon, Mahinda, was the son of Asoka (born when Asoka was a sub-king at Ujjayini under his father, who was king at Magadha), by the daughter of the Sethi or banker of Vidisa (*Dipavansa*, VI, 15 and 16).

there is internal evidence in the Vinaya Pitaka to lead to the supposition that the main portions of that Pitaka were settled before the Vesali Council, *i.e.*, before 377 B.C. For in the main portions of the Vinaya there is no mention of the discussion on the ten questions alluded to above,—questions which were "as important for the history of Buddhism as the Arian controversy for that of Christianity," and which agitated the whole of the Buddhist world to its very centre. The inference is irresistible that the main portion of the Vinaya Pitaka is anterior to the date of the Council, *i.e.*, anterior to 377 B.C.

We have thus found in the Scriptures of the Southern Buddhists reliable materials for the history of India for the centuries immediately after the time of Gautama Buddha. For the contents of the Three Pitakas were composed, settled, and arranged in India during the hundred or two hundred years after the death of Gautama, just as the four Christian Gospels were composed and settled within a century or two after the death of Jesus. Hence the Three Pitakas illustrate the manners and life of the Hindus and the history of Hindu kingdoms in the Gangetic valley. And, lastly, they give us a more consistent and a less exaggerated account of the life and work and teachings of Buddha himself than anything which the Northern Buddhists can supply us with. Both as an index to the Hindu civilisation of the period, and as an account of Gautama's life and work, the Three Pitakas will be our guide. It is to these Pali works that "we must go in preference to all other sources if we desire to know whether any information is obtainable regarding Buddha and his life."*

The Three Pitakas are known, as the Sutta Pitaka, the Vinaya Pitaka, and the Abhidhamma Pitaka. The works comprised in the Sutta Pitaka profess to record the sayings and doings of Gautama Buddha himself. Gautama

* Oldenberg's *Buddha* (translation), p. 75.

himself is the actor and the speaker in the earliest works of this Pitaka, and his doctrines are conveyed in his own words. Occasionally one of his disciples is the instructor, and there are short introductions to indicate where and when Gautama or his disciple spoke. But all through the Sutta Pitaka, Gautama's doctrines and moral precepts are preserved, professedly in Gautama's own words.

The Vinaya Pitaka contain very minute rules, often on the most trivial subjects, for the conduct of monks and nuns,—the Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhunis who had embraced the holy order. Gautama respected the lay disciple (Upasaka), but he held that to embrace the Holy Order was a quicker path to salvation. As the number of Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis multiplied, it was necessary to fix elaborate rules, often on very minute subjects, for their proper conduct and behaviour in the Vihara or monastery. As Gautama lived for nearly half a century after he had proclaimed his religion, there can be no doubt that he himself settled many of these rules. At the same time, it is equally certain that many of the minute rules grew up after his death, but they are all attributed in the Vinaya Pitaka to the direct order of the Blessed One himself.

And lastly, the Abhidamma Pitaka contains disquisitions on various subjects, on the conditions of life in different worlds, on personal qualities, on the elements, on the causes of existence, &c. We now subjoin a list of works contained in the Three Pitakas:—

I. *Sutta Pitaka.*

1. Digha Nikaya or long treatises, being a collection of 34 Suttas.

2. Majjhima Nikaya or middling treatises, a collection of 152 Suttas of moderate size.

3. Samyutta Nikaya, or the connected treatises.

4. Anguttara Nikaya, treatises in divisions the length of which increases by one.

5. Khuddaka Nikaya or short treatises. It contains 15 works which should be mentioned in detail :*—

(1) Khuddaka Patha or short passages.

(2) Dhammapada, an excellent collection of Moral Precepts.

(3) Udana, 82 short lyrics supposed to have been uttered by Gautama at different periods under strong emotion.

(4) Itivuttika, 110 sayings of Buddha.

(5) Sutta Nipata, 70 didactic poems.

(6) Vimana Vatthu, stories of celestial mansions.

(7) Peta Vatthu on departed spirits.

(8) Thera Gatha, stanzas of monks.

(9) Theri Gatha, stanzas of nuns.

(10) Jataka, 550 stories of former births.

(11) Niddesa, explanations on the Sutta Nipata (No. 5) by Sariputta.

(12) Patisambhida, on intuitive insight.

(13) Apadana, legends about Arhats or Saints.

(14) Buddha Vansa. Lives of 24 preceding Buddhas, and of Gautama, the historical Buddha.

(15) Chariya Pitaka, Gautama's virtuous acts in former births.

II. *Vinaya Pitaka.*

1. Vibhanga. Doctors Oldenberg and Rhys Davids consider it as only an extended reading of the Patimokkha, *i.e.*, as the Patimokkha with notes and commentary included. The Patimokkha is a formular of sins and their punishments recited every new moon and full moon day, and the members of the order who have committed any such sin are supposed to confess it and are disburdened of it.

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* The fifteen works composing the fifth Nikaya are by classed in the Abhidhamma, and not in the Sutta Pitaka.

2. Khandakas, *i.e.*, the Mahavagga and the Chullavagga.

3. Parivara Patha, admittedly an appendix and a later resume of the preceding portions of the Vinaya Pitaka.*

III. *Abhidamma Pitaka.*

1. Dhamma Sangani. Conditions of life in different worlds.

2. Vibhanga, 18 books of disquisitions.

3. Katha Vatthu, 1000 subjects for controversy.

4. Puggala Pannatti. On Personal Qualities.

5. Dhatu Katha. On the elements.

6. Yamaka, *i.e.*, pairs, *i.e.*, on apparent contradictions or contrasts.

7. Patthana. On the causes of existence.

Such are the contents of the Three Pitakas which have preserved to us the most reliable materials that are available for the history of Buddha's life and work, and the history of Buddhist India. Although writing was known when the Three Pitakas were settled and compiled, yet for hundreds of years they were preserved solely by memory, even as the Vedas in India were preserved by memory.

"The text of the Three Pitakas and the commentary too thereon.

"The wise Bhikkhus of former time had handed down by word of mouth."†

And it was in the first century before Christ, about 88 B.C., that the sacred works were at last recorded into writing, as we have seen before.

It is well known that Gautama, disregarding the precedent set by all classical writers and thinkers in India, preached his doctrine and morality to the people of India

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* But compiled by the time of Asoka and carried to Ceylon by his son Mahinda according to the Dipavansa, VII, 42. The works learnt and carried to Ceylon by Mahinda are thus described:—The five Nikayas (Sutta Pitaka), the seven sections (Abhidhamma), the two Vibhangas, the Parivara, and the Khandaka (Vinaya.)

† Dipavansa, XX, 20, 21.

in the language of the people, not in Sanskrit. It is said in the Chullavagga (V, 33, 1), that "There were two brothers, Bhikkhus, by name Yamelu and Tekula, Brahmans by birth, excelling in speech, excelling in pronunciation." And they went up to Gautama and said, "At the present time, Lord, Bhikkhus differing in name, differing in lineage, differing in birth, differing in family have gone forth. These corrupt the word of the Buddhas by their own dialect. Let us, Lord, put the word of the Buddhas into Sanscrit verse (Chhandaso aropema)."

But Gautama would have none of this;—he worked for the humble and the lowly, his message was for the people, and he wished it to be conveyed to them in their own tongue. "You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put the word of the Buddhas into (Sanscrit) verse. . . . I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to learn the word of the Buddhas *each in his own dialect.*"

Generally we can apply to the Three Pitakas the remarks which Doctors Rhys Davids and Oldenberg make in respect of the Vinaya Pitaka. "The text, as it lies before us, stands so well against all proofs, whether we compare its different parts, one with another, or with the little that is yet known of its Northern counterparts, that we are justified in regarding these Pali books as in fact the authentic mirror of the old Magadhi text as fixed in the central schools of the most ancient Buddhist Church. That text in the dialect of Magadha may have been lost to us once for all; and we can scarcely hope, unless some isolated sentences may hereafter be found, preserved here and there in inscriptions, that this loss will ever be even partially made good. But we may well be thankful that the faithful zeal and industry of these old monks has preserved for us a translation, in a dialect so nearly allied to the original, and in so perfect and trustworthy a state as the Pali version of the Vinaya still undoubtedly presents."*

* Vinaya Texts (translation), Part I., Introduction, xxxvi.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

In the sixth century before Christ, the kingdom of Magadha was rising to power and greatness. The kingdom, corresponding to Modern South Behar, extended to the south of the Ganges, and on either side of the Son river. To the north of the Ganges it had a powerful rival in the haughty confederation of the Lichchavis. Rajagriha, to the south of the Ganges, was the capital of Bimbisara, king of the Magadhas; and Vaisali, to the north of the Ganges, was the capital of the Lichchavis. To the east lay the kingdom of Anga or East Behar, which is spoken of in connection with Magadha, and Champa was the capital of Anga. Far to the north-west lay the ancient kingdom of the Kosalas, and its capital had been removed from Ayodhya or Saketa further northwards to the flourishing town of Sravasti, where Prasenajit reigned at the time of which we are speaking. The equally ancient country of the Kasis, lying to the south, seemed to be at this time subject to the king of Sravasti, and a viceroy of Prasenajit ruled at Benares.

A little to the east of the Kosala kingdom, two kindred clans, the Sakyas and the Koliyans, lived on the opposite banks of the small stream Rohini, and enjoyed a sort of precarious independence, more through the jealousies of the rival kings of Magadha and Kosala than by their own power. Kapilavastu was the capital of the Sakyas, who were then living in peace with the Koliyans, and

Suddhodana, chief of the Sakyas, had married two daughters of the chief of the Koliyans.

Neither queen bore any child to Suddhodana for many years, and the hope of leaving an heir to the principality of the Sakyas was well-nigh abandoned. At last, however, the elder queen promised her husband an heir, and, according to ancient custom, left for her father's house in order to be confined. But before she reached the place she was confined, in the pleasant grove of Lumbini, of a son. The mother and the child were carried back to Kapilavastu, where the former died seven days after, leaving the child to be nursed by his step-mother and aunt, the younger queen.

The birth of Gautama is naturally the subject of many legends which have a most remarkable resemblance with the legends about the birth of Jesus Christ. One of them may be quoted here. The Rishi Asita saw the gods delighted, and

"Seeing the gods with pleased minds, delighted, and showing his respect, he said this on that occasion: 'Why is the assembly of the gods so exceedingly pleased, why do they take their clothes and wave them?' . . .

"The Bodhisatta, the excellent pearl, the incomparable, is born for the good and for a blessing in the world of men, in the town of the Sakyas in the country of Lumbini. Therefore, we are glad and exceedingly pleased."

Having obtained this reply, the Rishi went to Suddhodana's palace and asked, "Where is this prince? I wish to see him."

"Then the Sakyas showed to Asita the child, the prince, who was like shining gold, manufactured by a very skilful smith in the mouth of a forge, and beaming in glory beautiful." And the Rishi foretold that the boy would reach the summit of enlightenment, and would establish righteousness, and that his religion would be widely spread" (*Nalaka Sutta*).

The boy was named Siddhartha, but Gautama was his

family name. He belonged to the Sakya tribe, and is therefore often called Sakya Sinha; and when he had proclaimed and preached a reformed religion, he was called Buddha, or the "awakened" or "enlightened."

Little is known of the early life of young Gautama, except that he was married to his cousin Subhadhra or Yasodhara, daughter of the chief of Koli, about the age of eighteen. It is said that Gautama neglected the manly exercises which all Kshatriyas of his age delighted in, and that his relations complained of this. A day was accordingly fixed for the trial of his skill, and the young prince of the Sakyas is said to have proved his superiority to his kinsmen.

Ten years after his marriage, Gautama resolved to quit his home and his wife for the study of philosophy and religion. The story which is told of the young prince abandoning his home and his position is well known. He must have for a long time pondered deeply and sorrowfully on the sins and sufferings of humanity, he must have been struck with the vanity of wealth and position. In the midst of his prosperity, position, and wealth, he felt a secret yearing after something higher, which neither wealth nor position could satisfy; and a strong, irresistible desire to seek for a remedy for the sufferings of men arose in his heart even in the midst of the luxuries and comforts of his palace-home. It is said that the sight of a decrepit old man, of a sick man, of a decaying corpse, and of a dignified hermit led him to form his resolution to quit his home. The story has little foundation in truth, and only represents in a concrete shape the thoughts that arose in his mind with regard to the woes of a worldly life, and the holy calm of a retired life.

At this time a son was born unto him. It is said that the news was announced to him in a garden on the riverside, and the pensive young man only exclaimed, "This is a new and strong tie I shall have to break." The news

gladdened the heart of the Sakyas, and Kapilavastu resounded with notes of joy at the birth of an heir to the throne. A perfect ovation awaited Gautama on his return to that town, and among the deafening cheers which arose, Gautama heard a young girl say, "Happy the father, happy the mother, happy the wife of such a son and husband." Gautama understood the word "happy" in the sense of "emancipated" from sins and new births, and he took off his necklace of pearls and sent it to the girl. The girl believed the young prince was enamoured of her, and little knew the thoughts which were struggling within him.

That night he repaired to the threshold of his wife's chamber, and there—by the light of the flickering lamp—he gazed on a scene of perfect bliss. His young wife lay surrounded by flowers, and with one hand on the infant's head. A yearing arose in his heart to take the babe in his arms for the last time before relinquishing all earthly bliss. But this he might not do. The mother might be awakened, and the importunities of the fond and loving soul might unnerve his heart and shake his resolution. Silently he tore himself away from that blissful sight—that nest of all his joy and love and affection. In that one eventful moment, in the silent darkness of that night, he renounced for ever his wealth and position and power, his proud rank and his princely fame, and more than all this, the affections of a happy home, the love of a young wife and of a tender infant now lying unconscious in sleep. He renounced all this, and rode away to become a poor student and a homeless wanderer. His faithful servant Channa asked to be allowed to stay with him and become an ascetic, but Gautama sent him back, and repaired alone to Rajagriha.

Rajagriha, as we have stated before, was the capital of Bimbisara, king of the Magadhas, and was situated in a valley surrounded by five hills. Some Brahman ascetics lived in the caves of these hills, sufficiently far from the

town for studies and contemplation, and yet sufficiently near to obtain supplies. Gautama attached himself first to one Alara, and then to another Udraka, and learnt from them all that Hindu philosophers had to teach.

Not satisfied with this learning, Gautama wished to see if penances would bring superhuman insight and power as they were reputed to do. He retired therefore into the jungles of Uruvela, near the site of the present temple of Buddha Gaya, and for six years, attended by five disciples, he gave himself up to the severest penances and self-mortification. His fame spread all round, fo. the ignorant and the superstitious always admire self-inflicited pain; but Gautama did not obtain what he sought. At last one day he fell down from sheer weakness, and his disciples thought he was dead. But he recovered, and despairing of deriving any profit from penance, he abandoned it. His disciples, who did not understand his object, lost all respect for him when he gave up his penances; they left him alone and went away to Benares.

Left alone in the world Gautama wandered towards the banks of the Niranjan, received his morning meal from the hands of Sujata, a villager's daughter, and sat himself down under the famous Bo-tree or the tree of wisdom. Many are the legends told of Mara, the evil spirit, who tempted him on this occasion, legends which have a curious resemblance with the legends of the temptation of Jesus Christ. For a long time he sat in contemplation, and the scenes of his past life came thronging into his mind. The learning he had adquired had produced no results, the penances he had undergone were vain, his disciples had left him alone in the world. Would he now return to his happy home, to the arms of his loving, widowed wife, to his little child now a sweet boy of six years, to his affectionate father and his loyal people? This was possible; but where would be the satisfaction? What would become of the mission

to which he had devoted himself? Long he sat in contemplation and in doubt, until the doubts cleared away like mists in the morning, and the daylight of truth flashed before his eyes. What was this truth which learning did not teach and penances did not impart? He had made no new discovery, he had acquired no new knowledge, but his pious nature and his benevolent heart told him that a holy life and an all-embracing love were the panacea to all evils. Self-culture and universal love,—this was his discovery,—this is the essence of Buddhism.

The conflict in Gautama's mind, which thus subsided in calm, is described in Buddhist writings by marvellous incidents Clouds and darkness prevailed, the earth and oceans quaked, rivers flowed back to their sources, and peaks of lofty mountains rolled down. Dr. Rhys Davids justly states that these legends have a deep meaning, and are "the first half-inarticulate efforts the Indian mind had made to describe the feelings of a strong man torn by contending passions."*

Gautama's old teacher Alara was dead, and he went therefore to Benares to proclaim the truth to his five former disciples. On the way he met a man of the name of Upaka, belonging to the Ajivaka sect of ascetics, who, looking at the composed and happy expression on Gautama's face, asked, "Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? What doctrine do you profess?" To this Gautama replied that he had no teacher, that he had obtained Nirvana by the extinction of all passions, and added, "I go to the city of the Kasis to beat the drum of the immortal in the darkness of the world." Upaka did not understand him, and replied after a little conversation,

* *Buddhism.*—Dr. Rhys Davids quotes a passage from Milton's Paradise Regained, describing a similar disturbance of the elements on the occasion of Christ's Temptation.

"It may be so, friend," shook his head, took another road, and went away (*Mahavagga*, I, 6).

At Benares Gautama entered the Deer Park (Migadaya) in the cool of the evening and met his former disciples. And he explained to them his new tenets.

"There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus, which the man who has given up the world ought not to follow,—the habitual practice, on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions, and specially of sensuality, a low and pagan way, unworthy, unprofitable and fit only for the worldly minded;—and the habitual practice, on the other hand, of asceticism, which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable.

"There is a middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes discovered by the Tathagata (Buddha), a path which opens the eyes and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightement, to Nirvana!"

And then he explained to them the four truths concerning suffering, the cause of suffering, the destruction of suffering, and the way which leads to such destruction of suffering. And the way was described to be eight-fold, and consisted in correct beliefs, aims, speech and actions, in correct living and endeavour, mindfulness and meditation.* And this doctrine Gautama rightly said, "was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrine, handed down." "In Benares, in the hermitage of Migadaya, the Supreme Wheel of the Empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One,—that wheel which not by any Saman or Brahman, not by any god, not by any Brahma or Mara, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back" (*Dhamma Chakka Ppavattana Sutta; Anguttara Nikaya*).

* We shall have to dwell hereafter on these four truths and the eight-fold path which are the cardinal principles of Buddhism. The above extracts will show that they were also the principles which Gautama proclaimed to the world at the very outset of his career.

It is needless to say that the five former disciples were soon converted, and were the first members of the Order.

Yasa, son of the rich Sethi (banker) of Benares, was his first lay disciple; and the story of the conversion of this young man, nartured in the lap of luxury and wealth, is worth repeating. "He had three palaces, one for winter, one for summer, one for the rainy season." One night he awoke from sleep and found the female musicians still sleeping in the room with their dress and hair and musical instruments in disorder. The young man, who had apparently been satiated with a life of luxury, became disgusted with what he saw and in a moment of deep thoughtfulness said: "Alas! what distress; alas! what danger!" And he left the house and went out.

It was dawn, and Gautama was walking up and down in the open air, and heard the preplexed and sorrowful young man exclaiming, "Alas! what distress; alas! what danger!" The sage replied, "Here is no distress, Yasa, here is no danger. Come here, Yasa, sit down; I will teach you the truth." And Yasa heard the truth from the lips of the saintly instructor.

Yasa's father and mother and wife missed him, and they all came to Gautama and listened to the holy truth. And they soon became lay disciples (*Mahavagga*, I, 7 and 8).

Within five months after his arrival at Benares Gautama had sixty followers. And now he called them together and dismissed them in different directions to preach the truth for the salvation of mankind. "Go ye now, O Bhikkhus, and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of gods and men. *Let not two of you go the same way.* Preach, O Bhikkhus, the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious in the end, in the spirit, and in the letter; proclaim a *consummate, perfect,*

and pure life of holiness" (*Mahavagga*, I, II, 1). No missionaries of later days have evinced a holier zeal to proclaim the truth to the ends of the earth than the followers of Gautama, acting on the sacred mandate quoted above. Gautama himself went to Uruvela, and Yasa remained in Benares.

At Uruvela, Gautama achieved distinguished success by converting three brothers named Kasyapa, who worshipped fire in the Vedic form, and had high reputation as hermits and philosophers. The eldest brother Uruvela Kasyapa and his pupils "flung their hair, their braids, their provisions, and the things for the *agnihotra* sacrifice into the river," and received the Pabbajja and Upasampada ordination from the Blessed One. His brothers, who lived by the Nadi (River Niranjara) and at Gaya, soon followed the example (*Mahavagga*, I, 15-20).

The conversion of the Kasyapas created a sensation and Gautama with his new disciples and a thousand followers walked towards Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha. News of the new prophet soon reached the king, and Seniya Bimbisara, surrounded by members of Brahmans and Vaisyas, went to visit Gautama. Seeing the distinguished Uruvela Kasyapa there, the king could not make out if that great Brahman had converted Gautama, or if Gautama had converted the Brahman. Gautama understood the king's perplexity, and in order to enlighten him, asked Kasyapa, "What knowledge have you gained, O inhabitant of Uravela, that has induced you, who were renowned for your penances, to forsake your sacred fire." Kasyapa replied that he had "seen the state of peace," and "took no more delight in sacrifices and offerings." The king was struck and pleased, and, with his numerous attendants, declared himself an adherent of Gautama, and invited him to take his meal with him the next day.

The solitary wanderer accordingly went, an honoured guest, to the palace of the king, and the entire population

of the capital of Magadha turned out to see the great preacher of the religion of love, who had suddenly appeared in the land. The king then assigned a bamboo grove (Veluvana) close by for the residence of Gautama and his followers, and there Gautama rested for some time. Shortly after Gautama obtained two renowned converts, Sariputra and Moggallana (*Mahavagga*, I, 22-24).

The daily life of Gautama has been well described by Dr. Oldenberg. "He, as well as his disciples, rises early when the light of dawn appears in the sky, and spends the early moments in spiritual exercises or in converse with his disciples, and then he proceeds with his companions towards the town. In the days when his reputation stood at its highest point, and his name was named throughout India among the foremost names, one might day by day see that man before whom kings bowed themselves, alms-bowl in hand, through streets and alleys, from house to house, and without uttering any request, with downcast look, stand silently waiting until a morsel of food was thrown into his bowl."

Such was the manner in which the greatest man of his age begged his food, day by day, from house to house, and preached his religion of love to men and to women. For women were Gautama's listeners as well as men. "The seclusion of women from the outer world, which later custom has enjoined, was quite unheard of in ancient India; women took their share in the intellectual life of the people, and the most delicate and tenderest of the epic poems of the Indians show us how well they could understand and appreciate true womanhood."*

The fame of Gautama had now travelled to his native town, and his old father expressed a desire to see him once before he died. Gautama accordingly went to Kapilavastu, but, according to custom, remained in the grove outside the town. His father and relations came to see him there; and the next day Gautama himself

* Oldenberg's *Buddha* (translation), pp. 149 and 164.

went into the town, begging alms from the people who once adored him as their beloved prince and master! The story goes on to say that the king rebuked Gautama for this act, but Gautama replied, it was the custom of his race. "But," retorted the king, "we are descended from an illustrious race of warriors, and not one of them has ever begged his bread." "You and your family," answered Gautama, "may claim descent from kings, my descent is from the prophets (Buddhas) of old."

The king took his son into the palace, where all the members of the family came to greet him except his wife. The deserted Yasodhara, with a wife's grief and a wife's pride, exclaimed, "If I am of any value in his eyes, he will himself come; I can welcome him better here." Gautama understood this and went to her, with only two disciples with him. And when Yasodhara saw her lord and prince enter,—a recluse with shaven head and yellow robes,—her heart failed her, she flung herself to the ground, held his feet, and burst into tears. Then, remembering the impassable gulf between them, she rose and stood aside. She listened to his new doctrines, and when, subsequently, Gautama was induced to establish an order of female mendicants,—Bhikkhunis,—Yasodhara became one of the first Buddhist nuns. At the time of which we are now speaking, Yasodhara remained in her house, but Rahula, Gautama's son, was converted.

Gautama's father was much aggrieved at this, and asked Gautama to establish a rule that no one should be admitted to the Order without his parents' consent. Gautama consented to this, and made a rule accordingly (*Jataka*, 87-90; *Mahavagga*, I, 54).

On his way back to Rajagriha Gautama stopped for some time at Anupiya, "a town belonging to the Mallas." And while he was stopping here, he made many converts both from the Koliyan and from the Sakya tribe, some of whom deserve special mention. Anuruddha, the Sakya, went to his mother and asked to be allowed to

go into the houseless state. His mother did not know how to stop him, and so told him, "If, beloved Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, the Sakya Raja, will renounce the world, thou also mayest go forth into the houseless state."

Anuruddha accordingly went to Bhaddiya, and it was decided that they would embrace the Order in seven days. "So Bhaddiya the Sakya Raja, and Anuruddha and Ananda and Bhagu and Kimbila and Devadatta, just as they had so often previously gone out to the pleasure ground with fourfold array, even so did they now go out with fourfold array, and Upali the barbar went with them, making seven in all.

"And when they had gone some distance, they sent their retinue back and crossed over to the neighbouring district, and took off their fine things, and wrapped them in their robes and make a bundle of them, and said to Upali the barbar, 'Do you now, Upali, turn back. These things will be sufficient for you to live upon.'" But Upali was of a different mind, and so all the seven went to Gautama and became converts. And when Bhaddiya had retired into solitude he exclaimed over and over, "O happiness! O happiness!" and on being asked the cause said—

"Formerly, Lord, when I was a king, I had a guard completely provided both within and without my private apartments, both within and without the town, and within the borders of my country. Yet though, Lord, I was thus guarded and protected I was fearful, anxious, distrustful, and alarmed. But now, Lord, even when in the forest, at the foot of a tree, in solitude, I am without fear or anxiety, trustful, and not alarmed ; I dwell at ease, subdued, secure, with mind as peaceful as an antelope" (*Chullavagga*, VII, 1).

We have narrated the above story because some of the converts, spoken of here, rose to distinction. Ananda became the most intimate friend of Gautama, and after his death led a band of 500 monks in chanting the

Dharma in the Council of Rajagriha. Upali, though a barber by birth, became an eminent member of the Holy Order, and was recognised as an authority in matters connected with Vinaya. It is a striking proof how completely the caste-system was ignored in the Holy Order established by Gautama. Anuruddha lived to become the greatest master of Abidamma or metaphysics. Devadatta became subsequently the rival and opponent of Gautama, and is even said to have advised Ajatasatru, the prince of Magadha, to kill his father Bimbisara, and then attempted to kill Gautama himself (*Chullavagga*, VII, 2-4). All these charges, however, which are heaped on Devadatta, who was a rival of Gautama, should not be accepted.

After spending his second *vassa* or rainy season in Rajagriha, Gautama repaired to Sravasti, the capital of the Kosalas, where, as we have seen before, Prasenajit reigned as king. A wood called Jetavana was presented to the Buddhists, and Gautama often repaired and preached there. Gautama's instructions were always delivered orally, and preserved in the memory of the people, like all the ancient books of India, although writing was known in his time.*

The third *vassa* was also passed in Rajagriha, and in the fourth year from the date of his proclaiming his creed Gautama crossed the Ganges, went to Vaisali, and stopped in the Mahavana grove. Thence he is said to have made a miraculous journey to settle a dispute between the Sakyas and the Koliyans about the water of the boundary river Rohini. In the following year he again repaired to Kapilavastu, and was present at the death of his father, then ninety-seven years old.

His widowed step-mother Prajapati Gautami, and his

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* "Brief written communications, brief written notifications, appear to have been common in India even at that time (*i.e.*, Gautama Buddha's time): books were not written, but learnt by rote and taught from memory." Oldenberg's *Buddha* (translation), p. 177.

no less widowed wife Yasodhara, had now no ties to bind them to the world, and insisted on joining the Order established by Gautama. The sage had not yet admitted women to the Order, and was reluctant to do so. But his mother was inexorable and followed him to Vaisali, and begged to be admitted.

Ananda pleaded her cause, but Gautama still replied, "Enough, Ananda! Let it not please thee that women should be allowed to do so." But Ananda persisted, and asked—

"Are women, Lord, capable—when they have gone forth from the household life and entered the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Blessed One,—are they capable of realising the fruit of conversion or of the second path, or of Arhatship?"

There could be only one reply to this. Honour to women has ever been a part of religion in India, and salvation and heaven are not barred to the female sex by the Hindu religion. "They are capable, Ananda," replied the sage. And Prajapati and the other ladies were admitted to the Order as Bhikkhunis under some rules making them strictly subordinate to the Bhikkhus (*Chullavagga*, X, 1). After this Gautama retired to Kosambi near Prayaga.

In the sixth year, after spending the rains at Kosambi, Gautama returned to Rajagriha, and Kshema, the queen of Bimbisara, was admitted to the Order. In the same year Gautama is said to have performed some miracles at Sravasti, and went to heaven to teach Dharma to his mother, who had died seven days after his birth.

In the eleventh year Gautama converted the Brahman Bharadvaja by the parable of the sower, which deserves to be quoted.

Kasi Bharadvaja's five hundred ploughs were tied in the sowing season. He went to the place where his men were distributing food to the poor, and he saw Gautama standing there to get alms. On this he said:—

"I, O Saman, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat; thou also, O Saman, shouldst plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, thou shouldst eat."

"I also, O Brahman, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat." So said Bhagavat.

"Yet we do not see the yoke or the plough, or the ploughshare, or the goad, or the oxen of the venerable Gautama."

Bhagavat answered,—"Faith is the seed, penance the rain, understanding my yoke and plough, modesty the pole of the plough, mind the tie, thoughtfulness my ploughshare and goad. . . .

"Exertion is my beast of burden; carrying me to Nibbana, he goes without turning back to the place where, having gone, one does not grieve."

The Brahman was abashed, and after further instructions joined the order (*Sutta Nipata; Kasi Bharadvaja Sutta*).

In the next year he undertook the longest journey he had ever made, and went to Mantala and returned by Benares, and then preached the famous Maha Rahula Sutta to his son Rahula, then eighteen years old. Two years after, Rahula, being twenty, was formally admitted in the Order, and the Rahula Sutta was preached.

In the following year, *i.e.*, in the fifteenth year from the date of his proclaiming his creed, he visited Kapilavastu again, and addressed a discourse to his cousin Mahanama, who had succeeded Bhadraka, the successor of Suddhodana, as the king of the Sakyas. Gautama's father-in-law, Suprabuddha, king of Koli, publicly abused Gautama for deserting Yasodhara, but is said to have been swallowed up by the earth shortly after.

In the seventeenth year he delivered a discourse on the death of Srimati, a courtesan; in the next year he comforted a weaver who had accidentally killed his daughter; in the following year he released a deer caught

in a snare and converted the angry hunter who had wanted to shoot him; and in the twentieth year he similarly converted the famous robber Angulimala of the Chaliya forest.

For twenty-five years more Gautama wandered through the Gangetic valley, preached benevolence and a holy life to the poor and the lowly, made converts among the high and the low, the rich and the poor, and proclaimed his law through the length and breadth of the land. His pure life of benevolence and his pure religion of love were widely known and universally respected by his followers and the orthodox Hindus alike; nations and their kings honoured the doctrines of the saintly reformer whose acts were those of kindness and benevolence; and when Gautama died at the advanced age of eighty, Buddhism was already a power in the land, which "not by any Saman or Brahman, not by any god, not by any Brahma or Mara, not by any one in the universe, could ever be turned back."

Gautama lived forty-five years from the date of his proclaiming his new religion; and accepting the year 477 B.C. as the year of his death, the main facts of his life may be thus arranged:—

Born near Kapilavastu	557	B.C.
His marriage with Yasodhara ...	538	"
He left his home, wife, and infant ..	528	"
He became enlightened at Buddha Gaya, and proclaimed his religion at Benares	522	"
He revisited his home	521	"
His father Suddhodana died, and his step-mother and wife joined the Order ...	517	"
His son Rahula joined the Order ...	508	"
Yasodhara's father died	507	"
Gautama died	477	"

Happily we have a fairly complete account of the events immediately before his death in the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta* in the *Digha Nikaya*, and to these facts we now turn.

Gautama was now eighty years of age, and the generation among whom he had worked in his youth had passed away. Most of those men whom he had known in his early days were dead, and the aged saint preached to sons and grandsons the same holy law which he had proclaimed to their sires and grandsires before. Many of his intimate friends were dead, but the faithful Ananda still accompanied him like his shadow, and ministered to his wants. The old king of Rajagriha was no more; his warlike and ambitious son Ajatasatru had ascended the throne of Magadha,—it is said by murdering his father,—and was now maturing schemes of conquest. It was no part of Ajatasatru's policy to offend so popular and widely respected a person as Gautama, and, outwardly at least, Ajatasatru honoured the reformer.

The powerful Vajjian clans who occupied the plains on the northern shore of the Ganges, opposite to Magadha, first attracted Ajatasatru's attention. They were a Turanian tribe who had entered into India through the northern mountains, and had established a republican form of government in the very centre of Hindu civilisation, and were threatening the conquest of all Magadha. They were probably the same Yu-Chi tribe* who conquered Kashmira and Western India four or five centuries later, and became, under Kanishka, the most powerful supporters of Buddhism.

Ajatasatru Videhiputra† said to himself, "I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be. I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin."

Gautama was then residing in the Vulture's Peak

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* See Beal's *Buddhism in China*, p. 43.

† This appellation shows that the king's mother was a lady of the ancient Videha tribe. Persons were frequently called in those days by their mother's name; and Upatissa, the distinguished disciple of Gautama, was always better known as Sariputra.

(Gridhrakuta), a cave on the side of the loftiest of the five hills overlooking the beautiful valley of Rajagriha. Ajatasatru, who was not without some kind of superstitious faith in prophecies, sent his prime minister Vassakara to Gautama to inquire how his expedition against the Vajjians would end. Gautama was no respecter of kings, and replied that so long as the Vajjians remained united in their adherence to their ancient customs "we expect them not to decline, but to prosper."

From the Vulture's Peak Gautama wandered to neighbouring places,—to Ambalathika, to Nalanda, and to Pataligrama, the site of the future capital of Magadha, Pataliputra. At the time of Gautama it was an insignificant grama or village, but Sunidha and Vassakara, the chief ministers of Magadha, were building a fortress at Pataligrama to repel the Vajjians. Such was the origin of the town which became the capital of Chandragupta and Asoka, and was the metropolis of India for nearly a thousand years, and which is still one of the largest cities in India. Gautama is said to have prophesied the greatness of the place and said to Ananda: "And among famous places of residence and haunts of busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Pataliputra, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares."

Vassakara and Sunidha, the ministers of Ajatasatru, invited Gautama there and fed him with sweet dishes of boiled rice and cakes, and after this Gautama left the place, and is said to have crossed the Ganges, which was then brimful and overflowing, by a miracle,—passing over the water without a boat or a raft.

He then went to Kotigrama, and then to Nadika, where he rested in the "brickhall," which was a resting-place for travellers. There Gautama taught Ananda the pregnant lesson that each disciple could ascertain for himself if he had attained salvation. If he was conscious, if he felt within himself, that he had faith in the Buddha, that he had faith in Dhamma, that he had faith in the

Order; then he was saved. Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha became the Trinity or the Buddhists.

From Nadika, Gautama came to Vaisali, the capital of the powerful confederacy of the Lichchavis to the north of the Ganges. Ambapali, a courtesan, heard that the saint was stopping in her mango grove and came and invited him to a meal, and Gautama accepted the invitation.

"Now the Lichchavis of Vaisali heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vaisali and was staying at Ambapali's grove. And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted one of them and proceeded with their train to Vaisali. Some of them were dark, dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments; some of them were fair, fair in colour and wearing light clothes and ornaments; some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments; some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white clothes and ornaments.

"And Ambapali drove against the young Lichchavis, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke; and the Lichchavis said to Ambapali the courtesan, How is it, Ambapali, that thou drivest up against us thus?

"My Lords, I have just invited the Blessed One and his brethren for their morrow's meal, said she.

"Ambapali, give us this meal for a hundred thousand, said they.

"My Lords, were you to offer all Vaisali with its subject territory, I would not give up so honourable a feast.

"Then the Lichchavis cast up their hands exclaiming, 'We are outdone by this mango-girl,* we are outreached by this mango-girl,' and they went on to Ambapalika's grove."

There they saw Gautama and invited him to a meal on the morrow, but Gautama replied, "O Lichchavis, I have promised to dine to-morrow with Ambapali the

* Ambapalika means the grower of mangoes.

courtesan." And Ambapali fed Gautama and his brethren with sweet rice and cakes, and "waited upon them till they refused any more." And then she was edified and instructed, and said, "Lord, I present this mansion to the Order of mendicants, of which Buddha is the chief, and the gift was accepted.*

From Ambapali's grove, Gautama went to Beluva. He felt his end approaching, and said to the faithful Ananda, "I am now grown old and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached the sum of my days, I am turning eighty years of age. . . . Therefore, O Ananda! be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth."

In Chapala Chetiya, Gautama delivered a discourse in which he enumerated four classes of men, *viz.*, the Nobles, the Brahmans, the Householders, and the Samans;—and four classes of angels, *viz.*, the Angels, the Great Thirty-three,† Mara,‡ and Brahma.§

At Kutagara, Gautama once more proclaimed to his followers the substance and essence of his religion, and enjoined upon them to practise it, to meditate upon it, and to spread it abroad, "in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes."

Having paid his last visit to Vaisali, Gautama then

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* Bishop Bigandet says: "In recording the conversion of a courtesan like Apapalika, her liberality and gifts to Buddha and his disciples, and the preference designedly given to her over princes and nobles, who, humanly speaking, seemed in every respect better entitled to attentions,—one is almost reminded of the conversion of 'a woman that was a sinner,' mentioned in the Gospels."—*Life or Legend of Gautama.*

† Vedic gods reduced to the position of beneficent spirits.

‡ The tempter or evil spirit. "Mara est le demon de l'amour, du peche, et de la mort; ce le tentateur et l'ennemi de Buddha."—*Burnouf.*

§ The Universal Being of the Upanishads reduced to the position of a beneficent spirit.

wandered through villages, Bhandagrama, Hastigrama, Ambagrama, Jambugrama, and Bhoganagara, and then went to Pava. There, Chunda, a goldsmith and ironsmith, invited him to a meal, and gave him sweet rice and cakes and a quantity of dried boar's flesh. Gautama never refused the poor man's offering, but the boar's flesh did not agree with him. "Now when the Blessed One had eaten the food prepared by Chunda, the worker in metal, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint."

On his way from Pava to Kusinagara Gautama converted a low-caste man Pukkusa. At Kusinagara, eighty miles due east from Kapilavastu, Gautama felt that his death was nigh. With that loving anxiety which had characterised all his life, he tried on the eve of his death to impress on his followers that Chunda was not to blame for the food he had supplied, but that the humble smith's act, kindly meant, would redound to length of life, to good birth, and to good fortune.

It is said that just before his death the trees were in bloom out of season, and sprinkled flowers on him; that heavenly flowers and sandalwood powder descended on him, and that music and heavenly songs were wafted from the sky. But the great apostle of holy life said, "It is not thus, Ananda, that the Tathagata (Buddha) is rightly honoured, reverenced, venerated, held sacred, or revered. But the brother or the sister, the devout man or the devout woman, who continually fulfils all the greater and the lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to precepts,—it is he who rightly, honours, reverences, venerates, holds sacred, and reveres the Tathagata with the worthiest homage." Who is not reminded by these noble precepts of the holy precept in the Bible so happily rendered into verse by a Christian poet ?—

"But Thou hast said, the flesh of goat,
The blood of ram, I would not prize,
A contrite heart, an humble thought,
Are My accepted sacrifice."

On the night of Gautama's death, Subhadra, a Brahman philosopher of Kusinagara, came to ask some questions, but Ananda, fearing that this might be wearisome to the dying sage, would not admit him. Gautama, however, had overheard their conversation, and he would not turn back a man who had come for instruction. He ordered the Brahman to be admitted, and with his dying breath explained to him the principles of his religion Subhadra was the last disciple whom Gautama converted, and shortly after, at the last watch of the night, the great sage departed this life,—with the exhortation to his brother men still on his lips,—"Decay is inherent in all component things; work out your salvation with diligence."

The body of Gautama was cremated by the Mallas of Kusinagara who surrounded his bones "in their council-hall with a lattice-work of spears and with a rampart of bows; and there, for seven days, they paid honour and reverence and respect and homage to them with dance and song and music, and with garlands and perfumes."

It is said that the remains of Gautama were divided into eight portions. Ajatsatru of Magadha obtained one portion, and erected a mound over it at Rajagriha The Lichchavis of Vaisali obtained another portion, and erected a mound at that town. Similarly the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Ramagrama, the Mallas of Pava, the Mallas of Kusinagara, and a Brahman Vethadipaka obtained portions of the relics and erected mounds over them. The Moriyans of Pipphalivana made a mound over the embers, and the Brahman Dona made a mound over the vessel in which the body had been burnt.

CHAPTER III.

DOCTRINES OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

It is not possible that we should, within the limits of a single chapter, give our readers anything like a complete summary of the doctrines of a religion which now forms the subject of so much elaborate and learned inquiry by so many distinguished and able scholars. Our attempt will rather be to give here the substance of the great lessons of ideas which Gautama preached and inculcated to his countrymen.

Buddhism is, in its essence, a system of self-culture and self-restraint. Doctrines and beliefs are of secondary importance in this system; the effort to end human suffering by living a holy life, free from passions and desires, is the cardinal idea with which Gautama was impressed on the day on which he was "enlightened" under the Bo-tree in Buddha Gaya, and it was the central idea which he preached to the last day of his life.

When he went from Buddha Gaya to Benares, and first preached his religion to his five old disciples, he explained to them the Four Truths and the Eightfold Path, which form the essence of Buddhism.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of Suffering*. Birth is suffering, decay is suffering, illness is suffering, death is suffering. Presence of objects we hate is suffering, not to obtain what we desire is suffering. Briefly, the fivefold clinging to existence (*i. e.*, clinging to the five elements) is suffering.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of the Cause*

of Suffering. Thirst, that leads to re-birth, accompanied by pleasure and lust, finding its delight here and there. (This thirst is threefold), *viz.*, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of the Cessation of Suffering*. It ceases with the complete cessation of thirst,—a cessation which consists in the absence of every passion, with the abandoning of this thirst, with the doing away with it, with the deliverance from it, with the destruction of desire.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of the Path* which leads to the cessation of suffering. That holy Eightfold Path, *viz.*—

Right Belief,
Right Aspiration,
Right Speech,
Right Conduct,
Right Means of Livelihood,
Right Exertion,
Right Mindfulness,
Right Meditation" (*Mahavagga*, I, 6).

The substance of this teaching is that life is suffering, the thirst for life and its pleasures is the cause of suffering, the extinction of that thirst is the cessation of suffering, and that such extinction can be brought about by a holy life. It is impossible to convey in a few words all that is impiled by the eight maxims into which a holy life has been analysed, but to Buddhists, trained in the traditions of their religion, these maxims speak volumes. Correct views and beliefs must be learnt and entertained; high aims and aspirations must always remain present before the mind's eye; truthfulness and gentleness must characterise every word that is uttered; uprightness and absolute integrity must mark the conduct. A livelihood must be sought and adhered to which does no harm to living and sentient things; there must be a lifelong perseverance in doing good, in acts of kindness, gentleness,

and beneficence; the mind, the intellect must be active and watchful; a calm and tranquil meditation shall fill the life with peace. This is the Eightfold Path for conquering desires and passions and thirst for life. A more beautiful picture of life was never conceived by poet or visionary; and a more perfect system of self-culture was never proclaimed by philosopher or saint.

The idea of self-culture was no doubt developed during the long course of meditation and practical good work in which Gautama passed his life. On the eve of his death is called together his brethren, and appears to have recapitulated the entire system of self-culure under seven heads, and these are known as the Seven Jewels of the Buddhist Law.

"Which, then, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you; which when you have mastered, it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men?

"They are these:—

> The four earnest meditations,
> The fourfold great struggle against sin,
> The four roads to saintship,
> The five moral powers,
> The five organs of spiritual sense,
> The seven kinds of wisdom, and
> The Noble Eightfold Path" (*Mahaparinibbana Sutta*, III, 65).

Here, again, it is impossible to convey in a few words any adequate conception of all that is implied by these rules of discipline; a volume could be written on this most edifying subject.

The four earnest meditations alluded to are the meditations on the body, the sensations, the ideas, and the

reason. The fourfold struggle against sin is the struggle to prevent sinfulness, the struggle to put away sinful states which have arisen, the struggle to produce goodness, and the struggle to increase goodness. The fourfold struggle comprehends in fact a life-long, earnest, unceasing endeavour on the part of the sinner towards more and more of goodness and virtue. The fourfold roads to saintship are the four means,—the will, the exertion, the preparation, the investigation,—by which Iddhi is acquired. In later Buddhism, Iddhi means supernatural powers, but what Gautama meant was probably the influence and power which the mind by long training and exercise can acquire over the body. The five moral powers, and the five organs of spiritual sense, are Faith, Energy, Thought, Contemplation, and Wisdom; and the seven kinds of wisdom are Energy, Thought, Contemplation, Investigation, Joy, Repose, Serenity. The Eightfold Path has already been described.

It is by such prolonged self-culture, by the breaking of the ten fetters, doubt, sensuality, &c., that one can at last obtain NIRVANA.

"There is no suffering for him who has finished his journey and abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides, and thrown off all letters.

"They depart with their thoughts well collected, they are not happy within abode; like swans who have left their lake, they leave their house and home.

"Tranquil is his thought, tranquil are his word and deed, who has been freed by true knowledge, who has become a tranquil man" (*Dhammapada*, 90, 91, 96).

It was generally believed that "Nirvana" implied final extinction or death; and Professor Max Muller was the first to point out, what most scholars have now accepted, that Nirvana does not mean death, but only the extinction of that sinful condition of the mind, that thirst for life and its pleasures, which brings on new births. What Gautama meant by Nirvana is attainable in life; it is what he

attained in life ; it is the sinless calm state of mind, the freedom from desires and passions, the perfect peace goodness and wisdom, which continuous self-culture can procure for man. As Rhys Davids puts it, "the Buddhist heaven is not death, and it is not on death, but on a virtuous life here and now, that the Pitakas lavish those terms of ecstatic description which they apply to Arhatship, the goal of the excellent way, and to Nirvana as one aspect of it."

But is there no future bliss, no future heaven beyond "the virtuous life here and now" for those who have attained Nirvana ? This was a question which often puzzled Buddhists, and they often pressed their great Master for a categorical answer.

On this point Gautama's replies are uncertain; nor does he ever appear to have inspired in his followers any hopes of heaven, beyond Nirvana, which is the Buddhist's heaven and salvation.

Malukyaputta pressed this question on Gautama, and desired to know definitely if the perfect Buddha did or did not live beyond the death. Gautama inquired, "Have I said, Come, Malukyaputta, and be my disciple ; I shall teach thee whether the world is everlasting or not everlasting?" "That thou hast not said, sire," replied Malukyaputta. "Then," said Gautama, "do not press the inquiry." If a man, struck by a poisoned arrow, says to his physician, "I shall not allow my wound to be treated until I know who the man is by whom I have been wounded, whether he is a Kshatriya, a Brahman, a Vaisya, or a Sudra,"—what would be the end of him ? He would die of his wound. And so would the man perish who did not strive after enlightenment and a holy life, because he did know what lay beyond. "Therefore, Malukyaputta, whatsoever has not been revealed by me, let that remain unrevealed, and what has been revealed, let it be revealed" (*Chula-Malukya-Ovada, Majjhima Nikaya*).

In the same manner we are told that King Prasenajit

of Kosala, during a journey between his two chief towns, Saketa and Sravasti, fell in with the nun Khema, renowned for her wisdom. The king paid his respects to her, and asked: "Venerable lady, does the Perfect one exist after death?" She replied: "The Exalted One, O great King, has not declared that the Perfect One exists after death." "Then does the Perfect One not exist after death, Venerable lady?" inquired the king. But Khema still replied: "This also, O great King, the Exalted One has not declared, that the Perfect One does not exist after death" (*Samyutta Nikaya*).

These extracts will show that Gautama's religion does not look beyond the Nirvana.* Gautama's aim was clear and well-defined; he invited all men, by a strict self-culture, to end their sufferings, to avoid future states of suffering, to attain in this world to a state of holy bliss and perfect sinlessness, which is Nirvana.

If a man does not attain to this state of Nirvana in life, he is liable to future births. Gautama did not believe in the existence of a soul; but, nevertheless, the theory of transmigration of souls was too deeply implanted in the Hindu mind to be eradicated, and Gautama therefore adhered to the theory of transmigration without accepting the theory of soul. But if there is no soul, what is it that undergoes transmigration? The reply is given in the Buddhist doctrine of KARMA.

The doctrine is, that "Karma," or the "doing" of a man cannot die, but must necessarily lead to its legitimate result. And when a living being dies, a new being is produced according to the Karma of the being that is dead. Thus, though the pious Buddhist does not believe in a soul, he believes that his state of life is determined by his Karma in a previous birth. And Buddhist writers

* See the question fully and elaborately discussed by Dr. Oldenberg in his work on *Buddha, his Life, his Doctrine, his Order*. The learned scholar has based his opinion on a careful examination of the entire body of the Buddhist canon.

are fond of comparing the relation of one life to the next, as that of the flame of a lamp to the flame of another lighted by it. And if the innocent man suffers in this world, he argues, "It is the result of my own work, why should I complain?" But wherein is the identity of the man who suffers with the man who is dead, if there is no soul? The Buddhist answers: "In that which alone remains when a man dies and is dissolved into atoms—in his action, thought and speech, in his Karma, which cannot die."

The reasoning seems to us like arguing in a circle, but nevertheless there is one aspect of the theory the correctness of which will be admitted by modern social philosophers. The Buddhist believes, as well as the modern philosopher, that each generation is the heir to the consequences of virtues and sins of the preceding generation, and that, in this sense, a nation reaps as it sows. "The Buddhist saint does not mar the purity of his self-denial by lusting after positive happiness which he himself shall enjoy hereafter. *His* consciousness will cease to feel, but his virtue will live and work out its full effect in the decrease of the sum of the misery of sentient beings."*

But the theory of transmigration was not the only doctrine which Gautama accepted from ancient Hinduism and adopted in a modified form into his own religion. The whole of the Hindu Pantheon of the day was similarly accepted, and similarly modified to suit his cardinal idea, the supreme efficacy of a holy life. The thirty-three gods of the Rig Veda were recognised, but they were not supreme. Brahma, the Supreme Deity of the Upanishads, was recognised, but was not supreme. For they too were struggling through repeated births, to attain that holy life, that Nirvana, which alone was supreme. Never was there such a daring attempt made by man to elevate holiness and purity above the super-

* Rhys David's Buddhism, p. 104.

natural and the celestial; to raise goodness,—attainable by man,—above the gods and the unknown powers of the universe!

It is necessary, however, to remark that it is doubtful whether Gautama himself recognised the Hindu Pantheon. It is not impossible that the Devas and Gandharvas and Brahma lingered in the traditional language of the people who had adopted Buddhism.

With regard to the Caste-system, Gautama respected a Brahman as he respected a Buddhist Sraman, but he respected him for his virtue and learning, not for his caste, which he in his soul ignored. When two Brahman youths, Vasishtha and Bharadvaja, began to quarrel on the question, "How does one become a Brahman?" and came to Gautama for his opinion, Gautama delivered to them a discourse in which he emphatically ignored caste, and held that a man's distinguishing mark was his work, not his birth. "The grass and the trees," he said "the worms, moths, and ants, the quadrupeds, snakes, fishes, and birds are all divided into species which are known by their distinguishing marks. Man, too, has his distinguishing mark, and that is his profession.

"For whoever amongst men lives by cow-keeping, know this, O Vasistha, he is a husdandman, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by different mechanical arts . . . is an artisan, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by trade . . . is a merchant, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by serving others . . . is a servant, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by theft . . . is a thief, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by archery . . . is a soldier, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by performing household ceremonials . . . is a sacrificer not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men possesses villages ...... is asking, not a Brahman.

"And I do not call one a Brahman on account of his birth, or of his origin from a particular mother,—he may be called Bhupati, and he may be wealthy,—but the one who is possessed of nothing and seizes upon nothing, him I call a Brahman......

"The man who is free from anger, endowed with holy works, virtuous, without desire, subdued, and wearing his last body, him I call a Brahman.

"The man who like water on lotus leaf, or a mustard seed on the point of a needle, does not cling to sensual pleasures, him I call a Brahman" (*Vasettha Sutta*).

Similarly in the Assalayana Sutta of the Majjhima Nikaya we are told that a distinguished Brahman scholar, Assalayana, came to controvert Gautama's opinion that all castes were equally pure. Gautama, who could meet a logician with his own weapons, asked if the wives of Brahmans were not subject to all the disabilities of child-birth like other women. "Yes," replied Assalayana. "Were there not differences in colour among the people of adjacent countries like Bactria and Afghanistan," asked Gautama, "and yet could not slaves become masters, and masters slaves, in those countries?" "Yes," replied Assalayana. "Then," asked Gautama, "if a Brahman is a murderer, a thief, a libertine, a liar, a slanderer, violent or frivolous in speech, covetous, malevolent, given to false doctrine, will he not after death be born to misery and woe, like any other caste?" "Yes," said Assalayana, and he also admitted that good works would lead to heaven irrespective of caste. Gautama proceeded further to argue that when a mare was united with an ass, the offspring was a mule, but the offspring of a Kshatriya united to a Brahman resembled its parents, and the obvious conclusion, therefore, was that there was really no difference between a Brahman and a Kshatriya! By such arguments Gautama drove the truth home to the

young logician's mind, and he "sat there silent, awkward, distressed, looking downwards, reflecting, not able to answer,"—and then became a disciple of Gautama.

At another time Gautama explained to his followers, "As the great streams, O disciples, however many they may be,—the Ganga, Yamuna, Asiravati, Sarabhu, and Mahi,—when they reach the great ocean lose their old name and their old descent, and bear only one name,—the great ocean,"—so also do Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras lose their distinctions when they join the Order. And we know that this theory was consistently carried out in practice, and Upali, a barber, as we have seen before, joined the Order and became one of the most revered and learned of Buddhist monks. A touching story is also told in the *Theragatha*, which enables us to comprehend how Buddhism came like a salvation to the humble and the lowly in India, and how they eagerly embraced it as a refuge from caste-injustice. Sunita the thera or elder says, "I have come of a humble family, I was poor and needy. The work which I performed was lowly,—sweeping the withered flowers. I was despised of men, looked down upon and lightly esteemed. With submissive mien I showed respect to many. Then I beheld Buddha with his band of monks as he passed, the great hero, into the most important town of Magadha. Then I cast away my burden and ran to bow myself in reverence before him. From pity for me he halted, that highest among men. Then I bowed myself at the master's feet, stepped up to him and begged him, the highest among all beings, to accept me as a monk. Then said unto me the gracious master, 'Come hither, O monk'—that was the initiation I received." And the passage concludes with the lesson which Gautama had so often preached, "By holy zeal and chaste living, by restraint and self-repression, thereby a man becomes a Brahman: that is the highest Brahmanhood."

Who can read this touching story of humble Sunita's

conversion without realising the loving spirit of equality which was the soul of early Buddhism, and which ensured its success? The great teacher who regarded nor wealth, nor rank, nor caste, came to the poor and the despised as well as to the rich and the noble, and welcomed them to effect their own salvation by a pure life and unstained conduct. A virtuous life opened the path to the highest honour to the low-born and the high-born alike,—no distinction was known or recognised in the Holy Order. Thousands of men and women responded to this loving and rational appeal, and merged their caste inequalities in a common love for their teacher and a common emulation of his virtues. And within three centuries from the date when Gautama proclaimed his message of equality and of love in Benares, the religion of equality and of love was the religion of India. Caste was unknown within the Holy Order, and lost its sting among laymen outside the Order; for it was open to the lowest born among them to embrace the Order and thus win the highest honour.

"393. A man does not become a Brahman by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brahman.

"394. What is the use of platted hair, O fool! What of the raiment of goat skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean.*

"422. Him I call, indeed a Brahman, the manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the impassible, the accomplished, the awakened.

"141. Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting or lying on earth, nor rubbing with dust, nor sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires"† *(Dhammapada)*.

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* Compare Mathew xxiii, 27, Luke xi 39.

† Professor Max Muller has the following interesting note to the above verse:—

"Walkin naked and the other things mentioned in our verse,

It is a mistake to suppose that Gautamá positively enjoined on all to retire from the world and to embrace the Holy Order. To conquer the yearning for life and its pleasures was the cardinal aim of the reformer, and he assigned no peculiar virtue to an outward act of renouncement of the world. But, nevertheless, as it is difficult to conquer that thrist so long as one is actually living in the midst of his family and enjoying the pleasures of life, Gautama recommended the life of a Bhikkhu as the more efficacious means for securing the great end. And so thousands retired from the world and became Bhikkhus, and thus the Buddhist Monastic system was formed; probably the first organised Monastic system in the world.

It is not necessary to narrate here the rules of the Buddhist Monastic system, as they do not come in among the essential doctrines of the religion. We will only quote here a beautiful Sutra, giving a supposed conversation between Gautama and a herdsman relating to the comparative virtues of worldly life and a religious life:—

1. "I have boiled my rice, I have milked my cows,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"I am living together with my fellows near the banks of the Mahi river. My house is covered, the fire is kindled: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

"2. I am free from anger, free from stubbornness,"—so said Bhagavat,—"I am abiding for one night near the

are outward signs of saintly life, and these Buddha rejects because they do not calm the passions. Nakedness he seems to have rejected on other grounds, if we may judge from Sumagadha Avadana. A number of naked friars were assembled in the house of the daughter of Anatha Pindika. She called her daughter-in-law Sumagadha, and said, 'Go and see those highly respectable persons' Sumagadha, expecting to see some of the saints like Sariputra, Maudgalayana, and others, ran out full of joy. But when she saw these friars, with their hair like pigeon-wings covered by nothing but dirt, offensive, and looking like demons, she became sad. 'Why are you sad?' said her mother-in-law. Sumagadha replied, 'O mother, if these are saints, what must sinners be like?'"

banks of the Mahi river. My house is uncovered, the fire (of passions) is extinguished: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

3. "Gadflies are not to be found with me,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"in meadows abounding with grass the cows are roaming, and they can endure the rain when it comes: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

4. "By me is made a well-constructed raft,"—so said Bhagavat,—"I have passed over (to Nirvana). I have reached the further bank, having overcome the torrent (of passions); there is no further use for a raft: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

5. "My wife is obedient, not wanton,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"for a long time she has been living together with me. She is winning, and I hear nothing wicked of her: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

6. "My mind is obedient and freed,"—so said Bhagavat,—"it has for a long time been highly cultivated and well subdued. There is no longer anything wicked in me: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

7. "I support myself by my own earnings,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"and my children are about me healthy. I hear nothing wicked of them: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

8. "I am no one's servant,"—so said Bhagavat,—"with what I have gained, I wander about in all the world. There is no need for me to serve: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

9. "I have cows, I have calves,"—so said Dhaniya,—"I have cows in calf and heifers. And I have also a bull as lord over the cows; therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

10. "I have no cows; I have no calves,"—so said Bhagavat,—I have no cows in calf and no heifers. And I have no bull as a lord over the cows: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

11. "The stakes are driven in, and cannot be shaken,"

—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"the ropes are made of munga grass, new and well made, the cows will not be able to break them: therefore, if thou likes, rain, O Sky!"

12. "Having, like a bull, rent the bonds; having, like an elephant, broken through the galuchchhi creeper, I shall not again enter into a womb; therefore, if thou likes, rain, O Sky!"

Then at once a shower poured down, filling both sea and land. Hearing the sky raining, Dhaniya spoke thus:—

13. "No small gain indeed to us, since we have seen Bhagavat. We take refuge in thee, O thou endowed with the eye of wisdom! Be thou our master, O great Muni!" (*Dhaniyasutta*).*

These are the leading doctrines of Gautama's religion, and a brief recapitulation of them will probably be useful to our readers. We have explained that Buddhism is in its essence a system of self-culture,—an effort towards a holy life on this earth, and nothing more. We have seen that Gautama preached the *Four truths* that life was suffering, the thrist after life was the cause of suffering, the conquering of that thirst was the cessation of suffering, and the path of self-culture was the means of conquering the thirst after life. Placing a holy life and sinless peace as the ideal of his religion and as the highest aim of human destiny, Gautama carefully elaborated a system of self-culture, a method of self-restraint in thought, word, and speech, which he called the *Noble Eightfold Path*, or which is known as the *Seven Jewels of the Law*.

And that holy peace, that sinless, tranquil life which is the object of so much self-restraint and self-culture, is attainable in this earth; it is the Buddhist's heaven, it is *Nirvana*. Gautama's religion offers no glowing rewards in a world to come; virtue is its own reward;

* Compare the parable in St. Luke xii. 16.

a virtuous life is the Buddhist's final aim; a virtuous peace on earth is the Buddhist's Nirvana.

We have seen that Gautama nevertheless adopted the Hindu idea of transmigration in a modified form into his own religion. If Nirvana is not attained in life, the *Karma* or actions of a living being lead to their legitimate results in re-births, until the discipline is complete and Nirvana is attained.

In the same manner Gautama adopted or permitted the adoption of the popular belief in the *Hindu Pantheon*,—the thirty-three gods of the Rig Veda, and Brahma, and the Gandharvas. All these beings, all leaving creatures in the universe, are struggling through repeated births in various sphere to attain that Nirvana which is the supreme aim and destiny and salvation of all.

But there were doctrines and customs of Hinduism which he could not accept. The caste-system he eschewed, asceticism and penances he disapproved, the Vedic rites he declared to be fruitless. In place of such rites, he enjoined a benevolent life and the conquest of all passions and desires; and he recommended a retirement from the world as the most efficacious means for securing this end. The recommendation was followed, and led to the *Buddhist Monastic system*.

The great distinguishing feature of Buddhism, then, is that it is a training towards a virtuous and holy life on this earth, and takes little thought of rewards and punishments. It appeals to the most disinterested feelings in man's nature, sets before him virtue as its own reward, and enjoins a life-long endeavour towards its attainment. It knows of no higher aim among gods or men than the attainment of a tranquil, sinless life; it speaks of no other salvation than virtuous peace, it knows of no other heaven than holiness. "It swept away from the field of its vision the whole of the great soul theory which had hitherto so completely filled and

dominated the minds of the superstitious and of the thoughtful alike. For the first time in the history of the world, it proclaimed a salvation which each man could gain for himself, and by himself, in this world, during this life, without any, the least, reference to God or to gods, either great or small."*

On the other hand, this very feature of Buddhism is the subject of charges frequently brought against the religion. It is urged that it is an agnostic religion, that it knows of no God, no soul, no future world for those who have attained salvation. Dr. Rhys Davids points out, however, that agnostic philosophy has come, not once or twice, but repeatedly to the forefront when theology has failed to offer satisfactory replies to inquiries after the unknown, and men have sought for new solutions to old questions. "It is their place in the progress of thought that helps us to understand how it is that there is so much in common between the agnostic philosophers of India, the stoics of Greece and Rome, and some of the newest schools in France, in Germany, and among ourselves.†"

* Rhys Davids, Hibbert Lectures, 1881.
†Buddhist Suttas, p. 145.

CHAPTER IV.

MORAL PRECEPTS OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

A RELIGION, the great aim of which is the teaching of holy living in this world, must necessarily be rich in moral precepts, and such precepts are the peculiar beauty of Buddhism, for which the religion is hold in honour all over the civilised world. It will be our pleasant task in this chapter to glean some of these graceful precepts, which will give our readers some idea of the essence of Gautama's teachings.

Gautama prescribed for lay disciples five prohibitory rules or Commandments, which were, no doubt, suggested by the five *Mahapatakas* or heinous crimes of the Hindu law books, referred to before.

"18. A householder's work, I will also tell you, how a Savaka is to act to be a good one; for that complete Bhikkhu Dhamma cannot be carried out by one who is taken up by worldly occupations.

"19. Let him not kill or cause to be killed any living being, nor let him approve of others killing, after having refrained from hurting all creatures, both those that are strong and those that tremble in the world.

"20. Then let the Savaka abstain from taking anything in any place that has not been given to him, knowing it to belong to another; let him not cause any one to take, not approve of those that take. Let him avoid all theft.

"21. Let the wise man avoid an unchaste life as a burning heap of coals; not being able to live a life of chastity, let him not transgress with another man's wife.

"22. Let no one speak falsely to another in the hall of justice, or in the hall of the assembly; let him not cause any one to speak falsely, nor approve of those that speak falsely. Let him avoid all untruth.

"23. Let the householder, who approves of this Dhamma, not give himself to intoxicating drinks; let him not cause others to drink, nor approve of those that drink, knowing it to end to madness."—*Dhammika Sutta, Sutta Nipata.*

These five precepts, which are known as the Five Commandments, or the five rules of conduct (Pancha Sila), are binding on all Buddhists, laymen and Bhikkhus. They are recapitulated thus:—

"25. Let not one kill any living being.
Let not one take what is not given to him.
Let not one speak falsely.
Let not one drink intoxicating drinks.
Let not one have unchaste sexual intercourse."

(*Ibid.*)

Three other rules are laid down which are not considered obligatory, but which are recommended to austere and pious lay disciples. They are—

"25, 26. Let him not at night eat untimely food.
Let him not wear wreaths or use perfumes.
Let him lie on a bed spread on the earth."

(*Ibid*)

The austere and pious householder is recommended to take a vow of all these eight precepts, which are known as the Eight Commandments, or the eight rules of conduct (Ashtanga Sila).

To these eight rules two more are added, and they are: To abstain from dancing, music, singing, and stage plays; and, To abstain from the use of gold and silver. These Ten Commandments (Dasa Sila) are binding on Bhikkhus, as the Five Commandments are binding on all laymen.

To honour one's father and mother, and to follow an

honourable trade, though not included in the Commandments, are duties enjoined in the same Sutta on all householders.

"Let him dutifully maintain his parents, and practise an honourable trade. The householders who observes this strenuously goes to the gods Sayampabhas (*Sanscrit* Svayambhu)."

A more exhaustive category of the duties of the householder is given in the well-known *Sigalovada Sutta*, common both to the Northern and the Southern Buddhists, and which has been more than once translated into European languages. The enumeration of the duties gives us so clear an insight into the state of Hindu society and into the ideal of Hindu social life, that we feel no hesitation in quoting it:—

1. *Parents and Children.*

Parents should—

1. Restrain their children from vice.
2. Train them in virtue.
3. Have them taught in arts or sciences.
4. Provide them with suitable wives or husbands.
5. Give them their inheritance.

The child should say—

1. I will support them who supported me.
2. I will perform family duties incumbent on them.
3. I will guard their property.
4. I will make myself worthy to be their heir.
5. When they are gone, I will honour their memory.

2. *Pupils and Teachers.*

The pupil should honour his teachers—

1. By rising in their presence.
2. By ministering to them.
3. By obeying them.
4. By supplying their wants.
5. By attention to instruction.

The teacher should show his affection to his pupils—

1. By training them in all that is good.
2. By teaching them to hold knowledge fast.
3. By instruction in science and lore.
4. By speaking well of them to their friends and companions.
5. By guarding them from danger.

3. *Husband and Wife.*

The husband should cherish his wife—

1. By treating her with respect.
2. By treating her with kindness.
3. By being faithful to her.
4. By causing her to be honoured by others.
5. By giving her suitable ornaments and clothes.

The wife should show her affection for her husband—

1. She orders her household aright.
2. She is hospitable to kinsmen and friends.
3. She is a chaste wife.
4. She is a thrifty housekeeper.
5. She shows skill and diligence in all she has to do.

4. *Friends and Companions.*

The honourable man should minister to his friends—

1. By giving presents.
2. By courteous speech.
3. By promoting their interest.
4. By treating them as his equals.
5. By sharing with them his prosperity.

They should show their attention to him—

1. By watching over him when he is off his guard.
2. By guarding his property when he is careless.
3. By offering him a refuge in danger.
4. By adhering to him in misfortune.
5. By showing kindness to his family.

5. *Masters and Servants.*

The master should provide for the welfare of his dependents—

1. By apportioning work to them according to their strength.
2. By supplying suitable food and wages.
3. By tending them in sickness.
4. By sharing with them unusual delicacies.
5. By now and then granting them holidays.

They should show their attachment to him as follows:—

1. They rise before him.
2. They retire later to rest.
3. They are content with what is given them.
4. They work cheerfully and thoroughly.
5. They speak well of him.

6. *Laymen and those devoted to religion.*

The honourable man ministers to Bhikkhus and Brahmans—

1. By affection in act.
2. By affection in words.
3. By affection in thoughts.
4. By giving them a ready welcome.
5. By supplying their temporal wants.

They should show their affection to him—

1. By dissuading him from vice.
2. By exhorting him to virtue.
3. By feeling kindly towards him.
4. By instructing him in religion.
5. By clearing up his doubts and pointing the way to heaven.

With glimpses of pure Hindu life, of pleasant domestic and social feelings and duties, do we obtain from the above categories! The anxious care of parents to give

children education and moral teaching and earthly comforts; the dutiful desire of children to support and respect their parents and honour their memory when dead; the respectful behaviour of the pupil towards the teacher, and the teacher's anxious care and affection for the pupil; the respect, the kindness, the honourable and affectionate treatment which the Hindu religion has ever enjoined on husbands towards their wives, and the faithfulness and scrupulous attention to domestic duties for which Hindu wives have always been known; the kindly relations between friends and friends, between masters and servants, between laymen and spiritual instructors: these are among the noblest lessons that the Hindu religion has taught, and these are among the noblest traditions which Hindu literature has handed down for thousands of years. Buddhism accepted this noble heritage from the ancient Hindus, and embalmed it in its sacred literature.

We turn now from Gautama's categories of duties to those precepts and benevolent maxims to which Buddhism mainly owes its deserved fame in the modern world. Gautama's religion was a religion of benevolence and love; and five centuries before Jesus Christ was born, the Hindu teacher had declared—

"5. Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time, hatred ceases by love: this is its nature."

"197. Let us live happily, not hating those who hate us. Among men who hate us, let us live free from hatred."

"223. Let one overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good. Let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth" (*Dhmmapada*).

Parables were told to impress this great lesson on the followers of the gentle and pure-souled Gautama, and we will here narrate one of these parables as briefly as we can. Trying to heal contentions and differences among his followers, Gautama said:—

"In former times, O Bhikkhus, there lived at Benares a king of the Kasis, Brahmadatta by name, wealthy, rich in treasures, rich in revenues, and rich in troops and vehicles, the lord over a great realm, with full treasuries and storehouses. And there was also a king of the Kosalas, Dighiti by name, not wealthy, poor in treasures, poor in revenues, poor in troops and vehicles, the lord over a small realm, with empty treasuries and storehouses."

As often happens, the rich king robbed the weak one of his realm and treasures, and Dighiti with his queen fled to Benares, and dwelt there in a potter's house in the guise of an ascetic. There the exiled queen gave birth to a child who was called Dighavu, and in course of time the boy reached his years of discretion.

In the mean time King Brahmadatta heard that his former rival was living in the town in disguise with his wife, and he ordered them to be brought before him, and had them cruelly executed.

Their son Dighavu was then living outside Benares, but happened to come to the town at the time of his father's execution. The dying king looked at his son and with more than human forgiveness left his last injunctions on his son. "*Not by hatred, my dear Dighavu, is hatred appeased. By love, my dear Dighavu, hatred is appeased.*"

And young Dighavu, O Bhikkhus! went to the forest; there he cried and wept to his heart's content. He then returned to the town, after having formed his resolutions, and took employment under an elephant trainer in the royal stables.

Early in the dawn he arose and sang in a beautiful voice and played upon the lute. And the voice was so beautiful that the king inquired who it was that had risen so early and had sung in the elephant stables in so beautiful a voice. And the young boy was taken to the king, pleased him, and was employed as his attendant.

And it so happened that on one occasion the king went out to hunt, taking young Dighavu with him. Dighavu's

secret resentment was burning within him, and he so drove the royal chariot, that the hosts went one way, and the king's chariot went another way.

At last the king felt tired and lay down, laying his head on the lap of young Dighavu, and he was tired, he fell asleep in a moment.

"And young Dighavu thought, O Bhikkhus, 'This king Brahmadatta, of Kasi, has done much harm to us. By him we have been robbed of our troops and vehicles, our realm, our treasuries, and storehouses. And he has killed my father and mother. Now the time has come to me to satisfy my hatred,'—and he unsheathed his sword."

But with the recollection of his father, the last words of his dying parent came to the recollection of the vengeful prince. "*Not by hatred, my dear Dighavu, is hatred appeased. By love, my dear Dighavu, hatred is appeased.*" It would not become me to transgress my father's word, said the prince, and he put up his sword.

The king dreamt a frightful dream, and arose terrified and alarmed. Dighavu told him the whole truth. The king was atonished, and exclaimed, "Grant me my life, my dear Dighavu! Grant me my life, my dear Dighavu!" The noble young prince forgave his father's murder in carrying out his father's injunction, and granted Brahmadatta his life. And Brahmadatta gave him back his father's troops and vehicles, his realm, his treasures and storehouses, and he gave him his daughter.

"Now, O Bhikkhus, if such is the forbearance and mildness of kings who wield the sceptre and bear the sword, so much more, O Bhikkhus, must you so let your light shine before the world, that you, having embraced the religious life according to so well-taught a doctrine and a discipline, are seen to be forbearing and mild" (*Mahavagga*, X, 2).

But not only forbearance and mildness, but the virtue of good acts is repeatedly and impressively enjoined by Gautama on his followers.

"51. Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without

scent, are the fine and fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly."

"183. Not to commit sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, this is the teaching of the Buddhas."

"200. In like manner his good works receive him who has done good and who has gone from this world to the other—as kinsmen receive a friend on his return."

"260. A man is not an elder, because his head is grey. His age may be ripe, but he is called old in vain."

"261. He in whom there is truth, virtue, love, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise, he is called an elder" (*Dhammapada*).

And Gautama told the parable of Matanga, the Chandala, who reached the highest fame, mounted the vehicle of gods, and went to the Brahma world by good deeds. Therefore,

"Not by birth does one become an outcast, not by birth does one become a Brahman. By deeds one becomes an outcast, by deeds one becomes a Brahman" (*Vasala Sutta Sutta Nipata*, 27).

And again in the *Amagandha Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipata*, Gautama explains to a Brahman, Kasyapa by name, that destroying life, killing, cutting, binding, stealing, lying, fraud, and adultery; backbiting, treachery, and cruelty; intoxication, deceit, and pride and a bad mind and wicked deeds are what defile a man. Neither abstinence from fish or flesh, nor nakedness, nor tonsure, nor matted hair, nor dirt, nor rough garment, nor sacrifices to the fire, nor penances, nor hymns, nor oblations, nor sacrifices can purify him.

The whole of the *Dhammapada* is a string of 423 moral precepts which for their beauty and moral worth are unsurpassed by any similar collection of precepts made in any age or country. And a good-sized volume might be compiled from the legends and maxims, the parables and precepts which are interspersed throughout the Buddhist Sacred Scriptures. We will close this chapter with only a few more extracts;—

"129. All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death. Remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter."

"130. All men tremble at punishment, all men love life. Remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill nor cause slaughter."

"252. The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the gambler" (*Dhammapada*).

"This is called progress in the discipline of the Noble One, if one sees his sin in its sinfulness, and duly makes amends for it, and refrains from it in future" (*Mahavagga* IX, 1, 9).

"Thus he lives as a binder together of those who are divided, an encourager of those who are friends, a peacemaker, a lover of peace, impassioned for peace, a speaker of works that make for peace" (*Tevijja Sutta*, II, 5).

Who is not struck by the remarkable coincidence of these noble precepts with those preached five hundred years after in Palestine by the gentle and pure-souled Jesus Christ? But the relations between Buddhist and Christian ethics and moral precepts will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORY OF BUDDHISM.

We are told in the *Chullavagga*, XI, that, on the death of Gautama, the venerable Mahakasyapa proposed, "Let us chant together the Dhamma and the Vinaya." The proposal was accepted, and 499 Arhats were selected for the purpose; and Ananda, the faithful friend and follower of Gautama, completed the number 500.

"And so the Thera Bhikkhus went up to Rajagriha to chant together the Dhamma and the Vinaya." Upali, who was a barber before, was questioned as the great authority on Vinaya, and Ananda, the friend of Gautama, was questioned as the authority on Dhamma (Sutta).

This was the Council of Rajagriha held in the year of Gautama's death, 477 B.C., to settle the sacred text and fix it on the memory by chanting it together.

A century after the death of Gautama the Bhikkhus of Vaisali (Vajjians), promulgated at Vaisali ten theses, which permitted among other things the use of unfermented toddy, and the receipt of gold and silver by Bhikkhus or monks.

Yasa, the son of Kakandaka, venerable Bhikkhu, protested against these licenses, and invited venerable teachers to a great Buddhist Council at Vaisali. He "sent messengers to the Bhikkhus of the western country, and of Avanti, and of the southern country, saying, 'Let your reverences come! We must take in charge this legal question before what is not Dhamma is

spread abroad and what is Dhamma is put aside; before what is not Vinaya is spread abroad and what is Vinaya is put aside.'"

In the meantime the Bhikkhus of Vaisali heard that Yasa was obtaining support from the Bhikkhus of the Western Provinces, and they too sought for support from the East. Indeed the difference was between the Eastern Buddhists of Vaisali, and the Western Buddhists of the provinces along the higher course of the Ganges, and also of Malwa and the Deccan The Eastern opinions were started by the Vajjians of Vaisali, and if the Vajjians be the same as the Turanian Yu-Chi tribe, as has been supposed by Beal, the dispute was mainly between Turanian Buddhists and Hindu Buddhists. We shall see further on that the Eastern opinions were subsequently upheld by the Buddhists of the Northern school, and that the Turanian nations of the world, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Thibetans belong to this Northern school.

The proceedings in the Council are interesting. The Sangha met at Vaisali, and after much talk—

"The venerable Revata laid a resolution before the Sangha: 'Let the venerable Sangha hear me. Whilst we are discussing this legal question, there is both much pointless talking, and no sense is clear in any single speech. If it seem meet to the Sangha, let the Sangha settle this question by referring it to a jury.'"

And he proposed four Bhikkhus from the East and four Bhikkhus from the West to form the jury. The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously that these eight should form a jury.

The ten questions were then put one by one to the jury, and the jury disallowed all the ten licenses for which the Vaisali Bhikkhus had contended, except only the sixth license, which, it was declared, was allowable in certain cases, and not in other cases.

At this rehearsal, seven hundred Bhikkhus took part,

and this was called the Council of Vaisali, and was held in 377 B.C.

It must not be supposed, however, this settlement of the ten questions was finally accepted by all parties. The older and more influential members of the order decided the questions, but the majority was against them, and they seceded in large numbers from the bosom of the orthodox church. And the Northern Buddhists are the successors of these seceders. Hence the stream of Buddhism flows in two different channels, known as the Northern Buddhism of Nepal, Thibet, and China, and the Southern Buddhism of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam.

It has been well observed that new religious systems, however noble in their intrinsic worth, depend much on external circumstances for their acceptance by mankind. The Christian religion, which made little progress during the first few centuries, was then embraced by Constantine when Roman sway and Roman culture were predominant in Europe, and thus made an easy and rapid progress in the western world. The religion of Muhammad was proclaimed when the Arabians had no rivals to oppose them in the world, when the Roman power had declined, and the Feudal power had not been developed in Europe. In India the ancient Hindu religion had spread with the conquests of the Aryans issuing from the Punjab and subjugating the whole of India. In the same way the religion of Buddha, which made no distinction between the Brahman and the low-born, found acceptance in the non-Aryan kingdom of Magadha more than in older Aryan provinces. And when Magadha became the supreme power in India in the third century before Christ, Buddhism was accepted as a state religion for India.

The Sisunaga dynasty to which Bimbisara and Ajatasatru belonged, came to an end about 370 B.C., and Nanda, born of a Sudra woman, ascended the throne,

and he and his eight sons ruled for about fifty years. A defeated rebel under the last of the Nandas escaped from Magadha about 325 B.C., and met Alexander the Great on the banks of the Sutlej. After Alexander's departure, Chandragupta gathered round him the hardy warriors of the west, and, about 320 B.C., succeeded in having the last Nanda killed, and ascended the throne of Magadha.

Neither Chandragupta nor his son Bindusara was a Buddhist. But Bindusara's successor, who ascended the throne about 260 B.C., embraced the popular religion, and became its most powerful promulgator all over India, and beyond India. Asoka's name is honoured from the Volga to Japan, and from Siberia to Ceylon, and "if a man's fame can be measured by the number of hearts who revere his memory, by the number of lips who have mentioned and still mention him with honour, Asoka is more famous than Charlemagne or Cæsar."* Asoka extended his empire all over Northern India, and his inscriptions have been found at Delhi and Allahabad, near Peshwar and in Gujrat, in Orissa, and even in Mysore.

He held the third Council at Patna about the eighteenth year of his reign, *i.e.*, about 242 B.C. One thousand elders attended the Council which lasted for nine months, under the presidency of Tissa son of Moggali. And the sacred texts were once more chanted and settled.

After the close of the Council, Asoka sent missionaries, as we are told in the *Dipavansa* and the *Mahavansa*, to Kashmir and Gandhara, to Mahisa (near modern Mysore), to Vanavaso (probably Rajputana), to Aparantaka (West Punjab), to Maharattha, to Yonaloka (Bactria and Greek kingdoms), to Himavanta (central Himalayas), to Subannabhumi (probably Burma), and to Lanka (Ceylon). The edicts of Asoka also inform us that his orders were carried out in Chola (Madras country), Pandya (Madura),

* Kopen, quoted in Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 222.

Satyapura (Satpura range), Kerala (Travancore), Ceylon, and the land of the Greek king Antiochus of Syria. And in another edict he tells us that he sent embassies to five Greek kingdoms, *viz.*, Syria, Egypt, Macedon, Epiros, and Cyrene.

We have seen before that Asoka sent his own son to Ceylon, and Mahinda soon converted the king and spread Buddhism in Ceylon. The scenes of Mahinda's labours are still visible in Ceylon. Eight miles from the ruined city of Anuradhapura is the hill of Mihintale, where the Ceylonese* king built a monastery for the Indian monks. "Here on the precipitous western side of the hill, under a large mass of granite rock, at a spot which, completely shut out from the world, affords a magnificent view of the plains below, he (Mahinda), had his study hollowed out and steps cut in the rock, over which alone it could be reached. There also the stone couch which was carved out of the solid rock still exists, with holes, either for curtain rods, or for a protecting balustrade beside it. The great rock effectually protects the cave from the heat of the sun, in whose warm light the broad valley below lies basking. Not a sound reaches it from the plain, now one far-reaching forest, then full of busy homesteads... I shall not easily forget the day when I first entered that lonely, cool, and quiet chamber, so simple and yet so beautiful, where more than 2000 years ago the Great Teacher of Ceylon had sat and thought and worked through the long years of his peaceful and useful life."

After the death of King Tissa, and of Mahinda, Ceylon was twice overrun and conquered by Dravidian conquerors, who were finally expelled by Watta Gamini about 88 B.C. And it was then that the Three Pitakas, which had been so long preserved by word of mouth, are said to have been reduced to writing, "seeing the destruction of men," as the Dipavansa has it.

* Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, pp. 230, 231.

Buddhagosha was the great commentator of Buddhist sacred works, the Sayanacharya of Buddhism. He was a Brahman of Magadha, and went to Ceylon and wrote the great commentaries for which he is known. He then went to Burma about 450 A. D., and introduced Buddhism into that country.

Buddhism was introduced in Siam in 638 A.D. Java seems to have received Buddhist missionaries about the same time, and Buddhism seems to have spread thence to Sumatra. All these countries belonged to the Southern Buddhist school.

With regard to Northern Buddhism, we know that it was the prevailing faith in the north-west of India before the commencement of the Christian Era. Pushpa Mitra, king of Kashmir, persecuted the Buddhists early in the second century B. C., and Pushpa Mitra's son Agni Mitra met the Greeks on the banks of the Ganges. The Greeks under Menander were victorious, and about 150 B. C. extended their conquests as far as the Ganges. But the victory of the Greeks was no loss to Buddhism, and Nagasena, a renowned Buddhist teacher of the time, had religious controversies with the Greek king, which have been preserved to us in a most interesting Pali work.

In the first century after Christ the Yu-Chis under Kanishka conquered Kashmir. Kanishka's vast empire extended over Kabul, over Yarkand and Khokan, over Kashmir and Rajputana, and over the whole of the Punjab to Gujrat and Sind in the south, and to Agra in the east. He was a zealous Buddhist of the Northern school, and held a Council of 500 monks. If this Council had settled the text as the Council of Asoka at Patna had done, we should now have had in our possession the settled scriptures of Northern Buddhism as we have the Three Pitakas of the South. But Kanishka's Council satisfied itself with writing three commentaries only, and Northern Buddhism therefore has drifted more and more from the

original religion, and assumed different forms in different countries. It is necessary to add that Kanishka's Council is unknown to the Southern Buddhists, as Asoka's Council is unknown to the Northern Buddhists. Asvaghosa, who has written a life of Buddha for the Northern Buddhists, lived in Kanishka's court. It is supposed that the Christian apostle St. Thomas visited Western India about this time, and died a martyr. The king Gondophares of the Christian legend is supposed to be Kanishka of Kandāhar.

As early as the second century B.C., Buddhist books were taken to the Emperor of China, probably from Kashmir. Another emperor, in 62 A. D., procured more Buddhist works, and Buddhism spread rapidly from that date until it became the state religion in the fourth century.

From China Buddhism spread to Korea in 372 A. D., and thence to Japan in 552 A.D. Kochin-China, Formosa, Mongolia, and other places received Buddhism from China in the fourth and fifth centuries; while from Kabul the religion travelled to Yashkand, Balk, Bokhara, and other places.

Buddhism must have penetrated into Nepal early, but the kingdom became Buddhist in the sixth century, and the first Buddhist king of Thibet sent for scriptures from India in 632 A. D.

We have now narrated the history of the spread of Buddhism in the Southern countries, as well as among the nations of the North and East. And it remains for us only to ascertain the result of the missions which Asoka sent to the West *i.e.*, to Egypt and Palestine. And this brings us face to face with one of the most interesting questions in the history of modern civilisation and religion.

The remarkable resemblance between the legends, traditions, forms, institutions, and moral precepts of Christianity and those of Buddhism has struck every candid inquirer. A few instances only are cited below

The myths connected with the birth of Buddha are strangely similar to those relating to the birth of Jesus. In both the cases there was a divine annunciation, both to the father and to the mother of the child, and both the children were miraculously born, or virgin-born. "By the consent of the king," says the Lalita Vistara, "the queen was permitted to lead the life of a maiden, and not of a wife, for the space of thirty-two months." We are not aware, however, that this myth is to be found in the older Pali records of the southern Buddhists.

As in the case of Jesus, a star presided at the birth of Gautama, and the star was Pushya, identified by Colebrooke with 8 of cancer. Asita, the Simeon of Buddhist story, came to Gautama's father and wished to see the divine child. The child was shown, and the saint foretold that the boy would establish righteousness, and his religion would be widely spread (*Nalaka Sutta*).

We do not attach much importance to the good omens which are said to have hailed the auspicious event in the one case as in the other. At Buddha's birth "the blind received their sight as if from very longing to behold his glory; the deaf heard the noise; the dumb spake one with another; the crooked became straight; the lame walked; all prisoners were freed from bonds and chains."* Such happy events are narrated by the followers of all religions as attending on the birth of their great Masters.

We have commented before on the close and remarkable resemblance between the temptation of Gautama and the temptation of Jesus. The story of the temptation is told in a poetic garb in the Lalita Vistara, but even as told in the southern records, it has a curious resemblance with the Biblical story.

Like Jesus, Gautama had twelve disciples. "Only in my religion," said he shortly before his death, "can be found the twelve great disciples who practise the highest virtues, and excite the world to free itself from its

* Rhys Davids' *Birth Stories*, p. 64.

torments."* And the same missionary spirit impelled the preacher of Kapilavastu and the preacher of Bethlehem. "Let not two of you go the same way," said Gautama. "Preach, O Bhikkhus, the doctrine which is glorious" (*Mahavagga*, I, 11, 1).

Baptism is common to Buddhism and to Christianity, and indeed John the Baptist adopted the rite of baptism from the Essenes, who admittedly represented the Buddhist movement in Palestine, before the birth of Christ, as we shall see later on. When Jesus was a young preacher in Galilee, the fame of John the Baptist reached him. Jesus went to John and lived with him, and no doubt learnt from John many of the precepts and teachings of the Essenes, and adopted the rite of baptism which John has practised so long. Baptism has since been accepted as a fundamental rite in Christendom. A Christian acknowledges the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost at baptism, as a Buddhist, after *abhisheka*, acknowledges Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.

We pass by the subject of miracles, which are said to have been performed both by Gautama and by Jesus. And we also pass by Gautama's parables, of which we have said something in a previous chapter, and which have such a remarkable resemblance with Christian parables. Renan, who is so unwilling to admit Buddhist influence on the development of the Christian faith, nevertheless states that there was nothing in Judaism which could have furnished Jesus with a model for the parable style. On the other hand, "we find in the Buddhist books parables of exactly the same tone and the same character as the Gospel parables."†

It is when we turn to monastic forms, rites, and ceremonies, that we are struck with the most remarkable resemblance, a resemblance about which Dr. Rhys Davids states, "If all this be chance, it is a most

* Bigandet, p. 301.
† Life of Jesus (translation), p. 136.

stupendous miracle of coincidence; it is in fact ten thousand miracles." *

A Roman Catholic missionary, Abbe Huc, was much struck by what he saw in Thibet. "The crosier, the mitre the dalmatic, the cope or pluvial, which the grand llamas wear on a journey, or when they perform some ceremony outside the temple, the service with a double choir, psalmody, exorcisms, the censer swinging on five chains and contrived to be opened or shut at will, benediction by the llamas with the right hand extended over the heads of the faithful, the chaplet, sacerdotal celibacy, lenten retirements from the world, the worship of saints, fasts, processions, litanies, holy water, these are the points of contact between the Buddhists and ourselves." Mr. Arthur Lillie, from whose book the above passage is quoted, remarks, "The good Abbe has by no means exhausted the list, and might have added confessions, tonsure, relic worship, the use of flowers, lights and images before shrines and altars, the sign of the cross, the Trinity in Unity, the worship of the Queen of Heaven, the use of religious books in a tongue unknown to the bulk of the worshippers, the aureole or nimbus, the crown of saints and Buddhas, wings to angels, penance, flagellations, the flabellum or fan, popes, cardinals, bishops, abbots, presbyters, deacons, the various architectural details of the Christian temple." †

It is not possible for us to go into the details of all these rites and ceremonies, or to point out how the whole fabric and structure of the Roman Catholic system seems like a copy of the Buddhist system. So strong is the resemblance, that the first Christian missionaries who travelled in Thibet believed and recorded their impression that the Buddhist Church had borrowed their rites and forms from the Roman Catholic Church. It is well known, however, that the Buddhists excavated many

* Hibbert Lectures, 1881, p. 93.
† Buddhism in Christendom, p. 202.

of their great church edifices in India before Jesus Christ was born; that a vast monastery, a wealthy church, and a learned university flourished in Nalanda near Patna, before similar church edifices and monasteries were seen in Europe; and that as Buddhism declined in India, gorgeous Buddhist rites, ceremonials, and institutions were copied from Nalanda and other places by the Buddhists of Nepal and Thibet, before Europe had yet recovered from the invasions of barbarous races, or had developed her Feudal civilisation or Feudal church system. It is clear, therefore, that the entire structure of church government and church institutions—in so far as there is resemblance between the two systems—was borrowed from the East by the West, not from the West by the East.

But we are not concerned here with the later forms and institutions of the Buddhist Church. The glory of Buddhism consists not in the pompous ceremonials which were witnessed in Nalanda and Thibet, and which were reproduced after several centuries in Rome, but in the moral precepts of surpassing beauty which were preached in Benares and Rajagriha by Gautama himself, and were repeated after five centuries in Jerusalem. "Never has any one," says M. Renan, "so much as He (Jesus) made the interests of humanity predominate in His life over the littleness of self-love. . . . There never was a man, Sakya Muni, perhaps, excepted, who has to this degree trampled under foot family, the joys of this world, and all temporal care." To do good unto those who smite you, to love those who hate and persecute you, and to relinquish the world for righteousness,—these were the cardinal teachings of Gautama and of Jesus. Was this similarity in precepts merely accidental?

In order to enable our readers to form an opinion on this great question, we will refer them to a few historic facts. We know from the edicts of Asoka that he sent Buddhists missionaries to work in Egypt and in Syria, and these missionaries settled in these countries and

formed large and influential Buddhist communities. The Therapeuts of Alexandria and the Essenes of Palestine who were so well known to the Greek world were in fact communities of Buddhist Bhikkhus, practising Buddhist rites preaching Buddhist doctrines and precepts, and spreading the teachings of Gautama Buddha in the West. Christian thinkers like Dean Mansel and Dean Milman, and philosophers like Schelling and Schopenhauer alike admit that the Therapeuts and the Essenes sprang from the Buddhists missionaries who came from India.

The communities lived and continued their work. Three centuries after the time of Asoka,—and at the time when Jesus Christ lived and preached,—the Essenes were so well known, and so influential, that the celebrated Pliny wrote of them.

Pliny flourished between 23 and 79 A.D., and thus describes the Essenes :—"On the western shore (of the Dead Sea), distant from the sea far enough to escape its noxious breezes, dwelt the Essenes. They are an hermit clan, one marvellous beyond all others in the whole world, without any women, with sexual intercourse entirely given up, without money ; and the associates of palm-trees. Daily is the throng of those who crowd about them renewed, men resorting to them in numbers, driven through weariness of existence and the surges of ill fortune in their manner of life. Thus it is that through thousands of ages, incredible to relate, their society, in which no one is born, lives on perennial" (*Hist. Nat.*, V 17).

This is a most remarkable piece of evidence. It is the evidence of an impartial and cultured Roman, describing the progress which Eastern ideas and institutions had made in Palestine at the time of Jesus Christ. We see in the passage given above the result which Buddhist missionaries had achieved in Palestine in three centuries from the time of Asoka. They had founded a sect there answering to the Buddhists of India, and the sect

followed the same practices, engaged themselves in the same speculations, and lived the same abstemious and celibate life as the Indian Buddhists. The heritage of Gautama's moral precepts was not lost on them; they revered it and repeated it, and spread it among the pious and thoughtful among the Jews.

We are content to leave the matter here. We have shown that Buddhism was preached in Syria in the third century B.C. We have shown that Buddhism was received in Palestine, and that Buddhists under different names lived in Palestine when Christ was born, and were preaching Gautama's doctrines and moral precepts in Palestine. We have shown that Christ came in contact with their rites and teachings through John, as well as through various other channels probably. And, lastly, we have shown the remarkable resemblance between Christian moral precepts and Buddhist precepts in sentiment and in language, between Christian resignation of the world and Buddhist resignation, between Christian and Buddhist rites and legends and forms. Is this coincidence fortuitous? Let each reader form his own opinion on the subject.

Some writers go so far as to maintain that early Christianity was Essenism, *i.e.*, Buddhism as it prevailed in Palestine. We do not agree in this opinion. Christianity in doctrinal matters is little indebted to Buddhism,—Christ having adopted the national Monotheistic faith of the Jews, as Gautama had adopted the national beliefs of the Hindus in Transmigration and Final Beatitude. Christianity as an ethical and moral advance on the religions of antiquity is indebted to Buddhism, as preached in Palestine by the Essenes when Jesus was born.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF JAINAISM.

The Jaina religion has long been considered as an offshoot from the religion proclaimed by Gautama Buddha. Houen Tsang, who travelled in India in the seventh century after Christ, viewed it in this light; and all that we have hitherto known of the tenets of Jainaism justified this supposition.

Both Lassen and Weber denied, and with very good reasons, the independent origin of the Jaina religion, and both the scholars maintained that the Jainas were seceders from Buddhism, and had branched off from the Buddhists, and formed a sect of their own. The scriptures of the Jainas were not reduced to writing till the fifth century A.D., and Barth held very plausibly that the traditions of the Jainas as to the origin of their religion were formed of vague recollections of the Buddhist tradition. Jaina architecture in India, too, is of comparatively recent date, and, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, may be said to have commenced centuries after Buddhist architecture had declined and disappeared in India.

Doctors Buhler and Jacobi, however, have recently discovered facts on the basis of which they contend that Jainaism had its commencement at about the same time as the religion of Gautama, and that the two religions flowed in parallel streams for long centuries, until Buddhism declined, while Jainaism still continues to be a living religion in some parts of India. We will

place before our readers the facts and traditions on which this opinion is based.

The Jainas, both Svetambaras (with white clothing), and Digambaras (without clothing), allege that Mahavira, the founder of the religion, was the son of Siddhartha of Kundagrama, and belonged to the clan of Jnatrika Kshatriyas. We know that Gautama Buddha, when travelling in Kotigrama, was visited by the courtesan Ambapali and the Lichchavis. This Kotigrama is identified with Kundagrama of the Jainas, and the Natikas spoken of in the Buddhist Scriptures are identified with the Jnatrika Kshatriyas. Further, Mahavira's mother Trisaa is said to have been the sister of Kataka, king of Vaisali, whose daughter was married to the renowned Bimbisara, king of Magadha.

Mahavira, at first called Vardhamana or Jnatriputra, was like his father a Kasyapa. At the age of twenty-eight he entered into the Holy Order, and after twelve years of self-mortification, became a Kevalin or Jina, Tirthakara or Mahavira, *i.e.*, a saint and prophet. During the last thirty years of his life he organised his Order of ascetics. He was thus a rival of Gautama Buddha, and is mentioned in Buddhist writings under the name of Nataputra as the head of the Niganthas (Nirgranthas, without clothing), already a numerous sect in Vaisali. Mahavira died at Papa.

The Jaina tradition goes on to say that in the second century after Mahavira's death there was a famine in Magadha. The renowned Chandragupta was then the sovereign of Magadha. Bhadrabahu, with a portion of his Jaina followers, left Magadha under pressure of the famine and went to Karnata. During his absence, the Jainas of Magadha settled their scriptures, consisting of the eleven Angas and the fourteen Puvvas, which latter are sometimes called the twelfth Anga. On the return of peace and plenty, the exiled Jainas returned to Magadha; but within these years a difference in custom

had arisen between those who had stayed in Magadha, and those who had gone to Karnata. The former had assumed a white dress, and the latter adhered to the old rule of absolute nakedness. The former were thus called Svetambaras, the latter were called Digambaras. The scriptures which had been settled by the former were not accepted by the latter, and for the Digambaras therefore there are no Angas. The final division between the two sects is said to have taken place in 79 or 82 A.D.

In course of time the scriptures of the Svetambaras fell into disorder, and were in danger of becoming extinct. It was necessary to record them into writing, and this was done at the Council of Vallabhi (in Gujrat) in 454 or 467 A.D. The operations of the Council resulted in the redaction of the Jaina canon, in the form in which we find it at the present day.*

Besides these facts and traditions, inscriptions have been discovered on the pedestals of Jaina statues at Mathura which, according to Dr. Buhler (who first discovered this evidence), proves that the Svetambara sect existed in the first century A.D. The inscriptions are dated according to the era of Kanishka, king of Kashmir, *i.e.*, the Saka Era, 78 A.D. One of the inscriptions, dated 9 of the Era (and therefore corresponding to 87 A.D.), states that the statue was erected by a Jaina lay-woman Vikata.

Such is the substance of the evidence on which it is contended that the Jaina religion is coeval with Buddhism, and not an offshoot from that religion. From the mention of "Nataputra" and of the "Nirgranthas" in the Buddhist Scriptures, it is reasonable to suppose that the Jaina sect of unclad ascetics had its origin too about the same time. Indeed, we have repeatedly stated before that various sects of ascetics lived in India at the time when Gautama Buddha lived and taught and

* Dr. Hoernle's Introduction to his translation of the Uvasagadasao.

led *his* sect of ascetics. What we find it difficult to accept is that the Jaina religion, as we have it now, was professed by the Nirgranthas of the sixth century B.C. The story that the Jaina canon was settled in a Council in Magadha at the time of Chandragupta is probably a pure myth; and even if that story was true, the canon settled in the third century B.C. would be very different from the canon recorded in the fifth century A.D. For there can be little doubt that the early tenets of the first Nirgranthas have long since been modified, and completely transformed; and that the more cultured section of that body, who adopted a white garment, continuously borrowed their maxims and precepts, their rules and customs, their legends and traditions from Buddhism, which was the prevailing religion of India after the third century B.C. Thus the Jainas drifted more and more towards Buddhism for long centuries, until they had adopted the substance of the Buddhist religion as their own, and very little of the early tenets of the unclad Nirgranthas was left. It was then,—in the fifth century A.D.,—that their scriptures were recorded, and it is no wonder that those scriptures appear like a copy of the Buddhist Scriptures recorded *six centuries before.* Admitting, then, the independent origin of the Nirgranthas in the sixth century B.C., we hardly think Houen Tsang was very far wrong, when he described the Jaina religion, as he saw it in the seventh century (and as we see it in the present day), to be an offshoot from Buddhism.

Among the other sects of ascetics which flourished side by side with the Buddhists and the Nirgranthas in the sixth century B. C., the Ajivakas founded by Gosala were the best known in their day. Asoka names them in his inscriptions, along with the Brahmans and Nirgranthas. Gosala was therefore a rival of Buddha and Mahavira; but his sect has now ceased to exist.

It follows from what has been stated before, that the religious tenets of the Jainas differ but slightly from that

of the Buddhists. Like the Buddhists, the Jainas have their Monastic Order, and they refrain from killing animals, and praise retirement from the world. In some respects they even go further than the Buddhists, and maintain that not only animals and plants, but the smallest particles of the elements, fire, air, earth, and water, are endowed with life or jiva. For the rest, the Jainas, like the Buddhists, reject the Veda, they accept the tenets of *Karma* and of *Nirvana*, and believe in the trasmigration of souls. They also believe in 25 Tirthakaras, as the early Buddhists believed in 24 Buddhas who had risen before Gautama Buddha.

The sacred books or Agamas of the Jainas consist of seven divisions, among which the Angas form the first and most important division. The Angas are eleven in number, of which the Acharanga Sutra, setting forth the rules of conduct of Jaina monks, has been translated by Dr. Jacobi, and the Upasakadasah, setting forth the rules of conduct of Jaina laymen, has been translated by Dr. Hœrnle.

We will now present our readers with some extracts relating to the life of Mahavira from the Acharanga Sutra. Hermann Jacobi, the learned translator of the work, assigns to it the third or fourth century B.C., but from the verbose and artificial language of the work, many readers will be inclined to assign to it a date as many centuries after Christ. The entire work reads like a very distant and very perverted imitation of the simple Buddhist accounts of the life of Gautama.

"When the Kshatriyani Trisala, having seen these fourteen illustrious great dreams, awoke, she was glad, pleased and joyful, ... rose from her couch and descended from the footstool. Neither hasty nor trembling, with a quick and even gait like that of a royal swan, she went to the couch of the Kshatriya Siddhartha. There she awakened the Kshatriya Siddhartha, addressing him with kind, pleasing, amiable, tender, illustrious, beautiful, lucky,

blest, auspicious, fortunate, heart-going, heart-easing, well-measured, sweet and soft words . . . . 'O beloved of the gods, I was just now on my couch . . . . and awoke after having seen the fourteen dreams, to wit, an elephant, &c. What, to be sure, O my Lord, will be the happy result portended by these fourteen illustrious great dreams?' . . . . He grasped the meaning of those dreams with his own innate intelligence and intuition, which were preceded by reflection, and addressing the Kshatriyani Trisala with kind, pleasing, &c., words, spoke thus: 'O beloved of the gods, you have seen illustrious dreams, &c. . . . . . you will give birth to a lovely, handsome boy, who will be the ensign of our family, the lamp of our family, the crown of our family, the frontal ornament of our family, the maker of our family's glory, the sun of our family, the stay of our family, the maker of our family's joy and fame, the tree of our family, the exalter of our family.' . . . .

"Surrounded by many chieftains, satraps, kings, princes, knights, sheriffs, heads of families, ministers, chief ministers, astrologers, counsellors, servants, dancing masters, citizens, traders, merchants, foremen of guilds, generals, leaders of caravans, messengers, and frontier-guards, he—the lord and chief of men, a bull and a lion among men, shining with excellent lustre and glory, lovely to behold, like the moon emerging from a great white cloud in the midst of the flock of the planets and of brilliant stars and asterisms—left the bathing-house, entered the exterior hall of audience, and sat down on his throne with the face towards the east. . . . . 'Quickly, O beloved of the gods, call the interpreters of dreams who well know the science of prognostics with its eight branches, and are well versed in many sciences besides!' . . . . When the interpreters of dreams had heard and perceived this news from the Kshatriya Siddhartha, they—glad, pleased, and joyful, &c.—fixed the dreams in their minds, entered upon considering them, and conversed together. . . . .

"In that night in which the venerable ascetic Mahavira

was born, there was a divine lustre originated by many descending and ascending gods and goddesses, and in the universe, resplendent with one light, the conflux of gods occasioned great confusion and noise. . . . . Before the venerable ascetic Mahavira had adopted the life of a householder (*i. e.* before his marriage), he possessed supreme, unlimited, unimpeded knowledge and intuition. The venerable ascetic Mahavira perceived with this his supreme unlimited knowledge and intuition that the time for his Renunciation had come. He left his silver, he left his gold, he left his riches, corn, majesty, and kingdom, his army, grain, treasure, storehouse, town, seraglio, and subjects; he quitted and rejected his real, valuable property, such as riches, gold, precious stones, jewels, pearls, conches, stones, corals, rubies, &c.; he distributed presents through proper persons. He distributed presents among indigent persons. . . . . The venerable ascetic Mahavira for a year and a month wore clothes; after that time he walked about naked, and accepted the alms in the hollow of his hand. For more than twelve years the venerable ascetic Mahavira neglected his body and abandoned the care of it; he with equanimity bore, underwent, and suffered all pleasant or unpleasant occurrences arising from divine powers, men, or animals. . . . During the thirteenth year, in the second month of summer, in the fourth fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Vaisakha, on its tenth day, when the shadow had turned towards the east and the first wake was over, on the day called Suvrata, in the Muhurta called Vijaya, outside of the town Jrimbhikagrama on the bank of the river Rijupalika, not far from an old temple, in the field of the householder Samaga, under a sal tree, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni (the Venerable One) in a squatting position with joined heels exposing himself to the heat of the sun, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, being engaged in deep meditation, reached the highest knowledge and intuition, called

Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete, and full. . . .

"In that period, in that age, the venerable ascetic Mahavira stayed the first rainy season in Asthikagrama, three rainy seasons in Champa and Prishtichampa, twelve in Vaisali and Vanijagrama, fourteen in Rajagriha and the suburb of Nalanda, six in Mithila, two in Bhadrika, one in Alabhika, one in Panitabhumi, one in Sravasti, one in the town of Papa, in king Hastipala's office of the writers: that was his very last rainy season. In the fourth month of that rainy season, in the seventh fortnight, in the dark (fortnight) of Kartika, on its fifteenth day, in the last night, in the town of Papa, in king Hastipala's office of the writers, the venerable ascetic Mahavira died, went off, quitted the world, cut asunder the ties of birth, old age, and death; became a Siddha, a Buddha, a Mukta, a maker of the end (to all misery), finally liberated, freed from all pains."

The Upasakadasah, as its name indicates, details the duties, of Jaina laymen in ten lectures. The first lecture details the vows and observances that must regulate a layman's conduct; the next four lectures detail various kinds of temptations arising from external persecutions; the sixth lecture treats of temptations from internal doubts, and specially from the antagonism of other religions, like that of the Ajivakas founded by Gosala; the seventh shows the superiority of the Jaina religion; the eighth dwells on the temptations to sensual enjoyments; and the ninth and tenth give examples of a quiet and peaceful career of a faithful Jaina laymen.

We are unable to make room for extracts from Dr. Hœrnle's translation of this work, but we will glean some facts from the portion which treats of Ananda's conversion, which will be interesting, as detailing many articles of luxury in which a Hindu householder indulged in the olden times. Ananda does not become a monk, but only becomes a Jaina layman, and he therefore takes

the five lesser vows, *anu-vratani*, in contrast with the *maha-vratani* of monks, as also the disciplinary vows.

Ananda renounces all gross ill-usage of living beings, all gross lying, and all gross theft. He contents himself with one wife, saying, "excepting with one woman Sivananda my wife, I renounce every other kind of sexual intercourse." He limits himself to the possession of a *treasure* of four kror measures of gold deposited in a safe place, of a *capital* of four kror measures of gold put out on interest, and of a well-stocked *estate* of the value of four kror measures of gold. Similarly he limits himself to the possession of four herds, each consisting of ten thousand head of cattle; to the possession of 500 ploughs and land at the rate of 100 *nivartanas* for each plough; to the possession of five hundred carts for foreign traffic, and five hundred carts for home traffic; and lastly, to the possession of four boats for foreign traffic and four boats for home use. The above enumeration gives us a very fair idea of a Hindu capitalist, land-owner, money-lender, and merchant of olden days,—a Seth, such as Jains have always been in India. We now turn to the articles of household use and luxury.

Ananda limits himself to one kind of red-tinted bathing towel, to one kind of green stick for tooth-cleaning, to one kind of fruit, the milky pulp of Amalaka, to two kinds of oil as unguents, to one kind of scented powder, to eight *gharas* of washing water, to one kind of clothes, viz., "a pair of cotton clothes;" to perfumes made of aloes, saffron, sandal, and similar substances, to one kind of flower, the white lotus, to two kinds of ornaments, viz., ear-pendants and a finger-ring engraved with his name, and to certain kinds of incense.

With regard to food, he limits himself in his use of beverages to a decoction of pulses or rice, and in the use of of pastry to such as are fried in clarified butter or turned in sugar. He confines himself to boiled rice of the cultivated varieties, to *dal* made of *kalai*, *mug* or *mas*, to

clarified butter produced from cows' milk in autumn, to certain kinds of curry, to one kind of liquor made from *palanga*, to plain relishes or sauces, to rain water as drinking water, and lastly, to betel with its five spices. Many of our readers will be inclined to think that our friend Ananda with his broad acres and large trade, and with the articles of use and luxury left to him, was not so badly off after all.

CHAPTER VII.

CHANDRAGUPTA AND ASOKA THE GREAT.

THE death of Alexander the Great marks an epoch in the history of the ancient world. In India, too, a new epoch begins at this time. The great political fact of this new epoch is that the whole of Northern India was for the first time united into one great empire by the genius of Chandragupta. The great religious fact of this new epoch is that the religion of Gautama Buddha, which was making progress among the humble and the lowly, was embraced by Chandragupta's grandson, the renowned Asoka the Great, and was preached and proclaimed all over India, and beyond the limits of India.

Of Chandragupta himself we have said enough elsewhere. His rule extended over the whole of Northern India from Behar to the Punjab. He drove out the Greeks from the Punjab, conquered from them a tract of country beyond the Indus, and at last concluded peace with Seleucus, the successor of Alexander the Great in Western Asia. Seleucus ceded the provinces which had been already conquered by Chandragupta, and also gave his daughter in marriage with the great Hindu emperor.

We have also seen that Chandragupta had a standing army of 600,000 foot and 30,000 horse; that his civil officers carefully supervised the administiation of towns as well as of villages; that trade, and commerce, and agriculture were protected; that irrigation was carefully attended to, and forests were preserved. A Greek ambassador, who lived in the court of Chandragupta, has recorded with admiration that as most part of the country was under irrigation, famine was unknown in the land; and that wars were waged and battles were fought within view of cultivated lands, and neither the cultivator nor his cultivation was molested by the contending parties. The picture of the power and greatness of the Hindu empire under Chandragupta, of the security to life and property which was afforded under his rule, and of the prosperous condition of irrigation and agriculture in that ancient age,—is one which every modern Hindu will cherish with legitimate pride.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusara about 290 B.C., and he was succeeded, in 260 B.C., by the renowned Asoka the Great.

No greater prince had ever reigned in India since the Aryans first colonised this country, and no succeeding monarch excelled his glory. But the claims of Asoka to greatness rest less on the extent of his empire and of his prowess, than on the liberal and catholic spirit which inspired his internal administration and his foreign policy, and the fervent love of truth, and the desire to spread the truth, which have made his name a household word from Siberia to Ceylon. No monarch of India, not even Vikramaditya, has such a world-wide reputation, and none has exerted such influence on the history of the world by his zeal for righteousness and virtue.

It is said that during the reign of his father, young Asoka was sent to be Viceroy of Ujjayini. If we may rely on the writer of the *Asoka Avadana*,* Asoka was

* Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Napalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 38.

born of a Brahmani queen, named Subhadrangi. The same authority tells us that Asoka was turbulent in his younger days, and had to be sent to the western frontier to quell a mutiny which had broken out in Takshasila, which he did with eminent success. After the death of Bindusara, Asoka ascended the throne, and the date of his coronation is generally believed to be about 260 B.C.

The works both of the Northern and the Southern Buddhists contain little that is authentic about Asoka's reign. The Ceylonese accounts have it that Asoka put to death ninety-nine of his brothers (only six according to Taranatha) before ascending the throne; while the *Asoka Avadana* states that the emperor killed his officers and their wives, and subjected crowds of innocent people to the most refined cruelties before his conversion to Buddhism. These stories are absolutely unfounded, and were invented to heighten the merit of the Buddhist religion by blackening the character of Asoka before his conversion to that creed.

Fortunately for us, the great emperor has left us his Edicts, not in the garbled stories of later poets and chroniclers, but in inscriptions cut on ROCKS, CAVES and PILLARS, by his own order, in his own time, and in the language and the alphabet of the time. The historical information conveyed in these inscriptions has been recently pieced together with great learning and ingenuity by the illustrious French scholar Senart, and we will glean some facts from his learned work, *Les Inscription de Piyadasi*, in two volumes.

The Fourteen Edicts on Rocks appear to have been inscribed in the 13th and 14th years from Asoka's coronation, while the Eight Edicts on Pillars were inscribed in the 27th and 28th years. The last of the Pillar Edicts is the last expression of the great emperor's ideas and wishes that is available to us. The Edicts in Caves were intermediate in point of time between those on Rocks and those on Pillars.

The Dipavansa and the Mahavansa maintain that Asoka was converted to Buddhism in the fourth year after his anointment. But M. Senart proves from the inscriptions themselves that the conversion really took place in the ninth year after the anointment, and immediately after the emperor had conquered Kalinga. It was the spectacle of the war of Kalinga, and of the cruel and sanguinary acts which accompanied it, that created a lasting impression on the mind of the benevolent emperor, and made him disposed to embrace the gentle and merciful creed of Gautama. Two years after, *i. e.*, in the eleventh year after his coronation, Asoka was converted a second time, *i. e.*, he was led to spread and proclaim the faith more zealously than he had done before; and from the thirteenth year he began to cause his edicts to be inscribed in all parts of his great empire.

We learn from the inscriptions that Asoka had brothers and sisters living at the time of the inscriptions; and the story that Asoka killed his brothers in order to ascend the throne must therefore be rejected as false. The emperor had more than one queen, and one inscription describes the liberality of his second queen (Dutiya Devi). Pataliputra was the capital of the empire, but Ujjayini, Takshasila, Tosali, and Samapa, are spoken of as subject towns. The whole of Northern India owned the emperor's sway.

Fourteen nations (*Aparantas*) living beyond the limits of Northern India also owned his suzerainty. In this category are mentioned the Yavanas (of Bactria), the Kambojas (of Kabul), the Gandharas (of Kandahar), the Rastikas (Saurashtras and Maharashtras), the Petenikas (of the Deccan (*Paithana* or *Pratishthana*), the Andhras (of the Deccan), the Pulindas (of the Deccan), the Bhojas (of Malwa), and the Nabhakas and Nabhapantis. Thus Southern India as far as the Krishna river, and Kabul, Kandahar and Bactria to the west, owned the suzerainty of the great emperor.

Other neighbouring nations are also spoken of as *Pratyantas* who were independent. The Cholas, the Pandyas, and Keralaputa (all to the south of the Krishna river), and five Greek kingdoms belong to this class.

Of Asoka's system of administration the inscriptions give us but meagre information. We are told of Purushas or officers of the king, of Mahamatras or functionaries of all orders, of Dharma-mahamatras or officers specially employed to propagate religion and foster morality, and of Pradesikas or local hereditary chiefs, the ancestors of the modern Raos and Raols and Thakurs, of whom India, with its Feudal system of administration, has always been rich. Besides these we hear of Anta-mahamatras or frontier officers, of Prativedakas or spies, and of Rajjukas specially appointed to inculcate religion to the Dharmayuta or the faithful.

The Anusamyana was a religious assemblage to which all the faithful were invited, and in which the Rajjukas exercised their special mission of imparting instruction to the people. We know that such Buddhist gatherings were held every five years, but this rule was not universal. A quinquennial Anusamyana was held in the provinces immediately under the emperor, but in Ujjayini and Takshasila the celebration was held once in every three years.

In the inscription of Sahasaram, we are told that after his conversion Asoka deprived Brahmans of the almost divine honour in which they were held, no doubt by showing equal honour to Buddhist monks. This salutary measure has been exaggerated into legends of sanguinary persecution of Brahmans of which the pious emperor was entirely innocent. In the same inscription, as well as in that of Rupnath, we are told that Asoka sent his missionaries (Vivuthas) to all parts of the then known world. In the inscriptions of Bhabra, Asoka makes a profession of faith in the Buddhist Trinity,—Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.

We now turn to the inscriptions themselves, and we will begin with the Rock Edicts.

Five rocks in five different parts of India bear on them five texts of *the same series of edicts* which Asoka published. One of them is near *Kapur da giri*, about 25 miles to the north-west of Attok, on the Indus; another is near *Khalsi*, on the Jumna river just where it leaves the higher range of the Himalaya mountains; the third is at *Girnar* in Gujrat, about 40 miles to the north of the famous Somnath; the fourth is at *Dhauli* in Orissa, about 20 miles to the south of Cuttack; and the fifth is at *Jaugadá*, near the Chilka Lake, and about 18 miles to the north-west of the modern town of Ganjam.

These Fourteen Edicts possess such surpassing interest for every student of Indian history, that we consider it necessary to transcribe them in full. They were first translated by James Prinsep, and have since been revised by Wilson and Burnouf, Lassen, Kern, and Senart. M. Senart's revision is the latest, and the following rendering is based on his interpretation of the Edicts. It is scarcely necessary to premise that Asoka calls himself Piyadasi in the Edicts:—

EDICT I.

This Edict has been engraved by the order of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. One must not, here below, kill any living animal by immolating it, not for the purpose of feasts. The King Piyadasi sees much that is sinful in such feasts. Formerly such feasts were allowed; and in the *cuisine* of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and for the table of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, hundreds of thousands of living beings were killed every day. At the time when this Edict is engraved three animals only are killed for the table, two pea-fowls and a gazelle, and the gazelle not regularly. Even these three animals will not be killed in future.

EDICT II.

Everywhere in the kingdom of the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and also of the nations who live in the frontiers, such as

the Cholas, the Pandyas, the realms of Satyaputra and Kerala-putra, as far as Tambapanni, (and in the kingdom of) Antiochus, king of the Greeks, and of the kings who are his neighbours,—everywhere the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, has provided medicines of two sorts, medicines for men and medicines for animals. Wherever plants useful either for men or for animals were wanting, they have been imported and planted. Wherever roots and fruits were wanting, they have been imported and planted. And along public roads, wells have been dug for the use of animals and men.

EDICT III.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. In the twelfth year after my anointment, I ordered as follows. Everywhere in my empire, the faithful, the Rajuka, and the governor of the district, shall meet in a gathering (Anusamyana), once every five years, as a part of their duty, in order to proclaim religious instructions as follows: "It is good and proper to render dutiful service to one's father and mother, to friends, to acquaintances and relations; it is good and proper to bestow alms on Brahmans and Sramans, to respect the life of living beings, to avoid prodigality and violent language." The clergy shall then instruct the faithful in detail in the spirit and in the word.

EDICT IV.

In the past times, during many hundred years, have prevailed the slaughter of living beings, violence towards creatures, want of regard for relations, and want of respect for Brahmans and Sramans. But this day the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and faithful to the practice of religion, has made a religious proclamation by beat of drum, and has made a display or equipages elephants, torches, and celestial objects to his people.

Thanks to the instructions of the religion spread by the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, there exist to-day a respect for living creatures, a tenderness towards them, a regard for relations and for Brahmans and Sramans, a dutiful obedience to father and mother, and obeisance to aged men, such as have not existed for centuries. In this respect as in others, the practice of religion prevails, and the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, will continue to cause it to prevail. The sons, the grandsons, and the great-grandsons of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and cause this

practice of religion to prevail to the end of this world. Firm in religion and in virtue, they will inculcate religion. For the teaching of religion is the most meritorious of acts, and there is no practice of religion without virtue. The development, the prosperity of the religious interest, is desirable. With this object has this been engraved, in order that they may apply themselves to the highest good of this interest, and they may not allow it to decline. The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, has caused this to be engraved twelve years after his anointment.

EDICT V.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. The practice of virtue is difficult, and those who practice virtue perform what is difficult. I have myself accomplished many virtuous acts. And so shall my sons and grandsons, and my latest posterity to the end of the Kalpa pursue the same conduct, and shall perform what is good. And he who shall neglect such conduct shall do what is evil. To do evil is easy. Thus in the past there were no ministers of religion (Dharmamahamatra). But I, thirteen years after my anointment, have created ministers of religion. They mix with all sects for the establishment and the progress of religion, and for the well-being of the faithful. They mix with the Yavanas, the Kambojas, the Gandharas, the Saurashtras, and the Petenikas, and with other frontier (Aparanta) nations. They mix with warriors and with Brahmans, with the rich and the poor and the aged, for their well-being and happiness, and in order to remove all the obstacles in the path of the followers of the true religion. They bring comfort to him who is in fetters, to remove his obstacles, and to deliver him,—because he has a family to support, because he has been the victim of deceit, and because he is bent with age. At Pataliputra and in other towns they exert themselves in the houses of my brothers and sisters and other relations. Everywhere the ministers of religion mix with the followers of the true religion, with those who apply themselves to religion and are firm in religion, and with those who bestow alms. It is with this object that this Edict is engraved.

EDICT VI.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. There never was in past times a system of despatch of work and of hearing of reports at all moments. This is what I have done. At all moments, during meals, during repose, in the inner appartments, in

the secret chamber, in my retreat, in the garden,—everywhere, officers entrusted with information about the affairs of my people come to me, and I despatch the concerns relating to my people. I myself with my own mouth issue instruction which the ministers of religion impart to the people. Thus I have directed that wherever there is a division, a quarrel, in the assembly of the clergy, it should always be immediately reported to me. For there cannot be too much activity employed in the administration of justice. It is my duty to procure by my instructions the good of the public; and in incessant activity and the proper administration of justice lies the root of public good, and nothing is more efficacious than this. All my endeavours have but thus one object,—to pay this debt due to my people! I render them as happy as possible here below; may they obtain happiness thereafter in heaven! It is with this object that I have caused this Edict to be engraved; may it endure long! And may my sons and my grandsons and my great-grandsons follow my example for the public good. This great object requires the utmost endeavour.

EDICT VII.

The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ardently desires that all sects may live (unmolested) in all places. All of them equally propose the subjection of the senses and the purification of the soul; but man is fickle in his attachments. They thus practice but imperfectly what they profess; and those who do not bestow ample gifts may yet possess a control over their senses, purity of soul, and gratitude and fidelity in their affections; and this is commendable.

EDICT VIII.

In past times kings went out for pastimes. Hunting and other amusements of the kind were their pastimes here below. I, King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, obtained true intelligenee ten years after my anointment. These, then, are my pastimes;—visits and gifts to Brahmans and Sramans, visits to aged men, the distribution of money, visits to the people of the empire, their religious instruction, and consultations on religious subjects. It is thus that the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, enjoys the pleasure derived from his virtuous acts.

EDICT IX.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Men perform various observances in illness, at the marriage of a son or a

daughter, at the birth of a child, and at the time of proceeding on a journey. On these and similar occasions men follow various practices. But these numerous and diverse practices observed by most people are valueless and vain. It is customary, however, to observe such practices, although they produce no fruit. But the practice of religion, on the contrary, is meritorious in the highest degree. Regard for slaves and servants, and respect for relations and teachers are meritorious; tenderness towards living beings, and alms to Brahmans and Sramans are meritorious. I call these and similar virtuous acts the practice of religion. A father or a son, a brother or a teacher should say,—this is what is meritorious, this is the practice which must be observed till the end is attained. It has been said that alms are meritorious, but there is no gift and no charity so meritorious, as the gift of religion, the imparting of religion. Hence a friend, a relation, a companion should give such counsel,—in such and such circumstances this should be done, —this is meritorious. Convinced that such conduct leads to heaven, one should follow it with zeal as the way which leads to heaven.

EDICT X.

The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, does not deem any kind of glory and renown to be perfect except this viz, that in the present and in the future my people practice obedience to my religion and perform the duties of my religion! That is the glory and the renown which the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, seeks. All the efforts of the King Piyadasi beloved of the gods, are for the fruits obtainable in the future life, and for escaping mortal life. For moral life is evil. But it is difficult to attain this end both for the small and the great, except by a determined effort to detach themselves from all objects. It is assuredly a difficult task, especially for the great, to perform this.

EDICT XI.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. There is no gift comparable with the gift of religion, the infancy of religion, the charity of religion, the relationship of religion. This should be observed,—regard towards slaves and servants, obedience to father and mother, charity towards friends, companion relations, Sramans, and Brahmans, and respect for the life of living creatures. A father or a son or a brother, a friend, a companion, or even a

neighbour, should say,—this is meritorious, this should be done. In striving thus, he derives a gain in this world and in the life to come; infinite merit results from the gift of religion.

EDICT XII.

The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, honours all sects, both ascetics and householders; he propitiates them by alms and by other gifts. But the beloved of the gods attaches less importance to such gifts and honours than to the endeavour to promote their essential moral virtues. It is true, the prevalence of essential virtues differs in different sects. But there is a common basis, and that is gentleness and moderation in language. Thus one should not exalt one's own sect and decry the others; one should not depreciate them without cause, but should render them on every occasion the honour which they deserve. Striving thus, one promotes the welfare of his own sect while serving the others. Striving otherwise, one does not serve his own sect, and does disservice to others. And whoever from attachment to his own sect, and with a view to promote it, exalts it and decries others, only deals rude blows to his own sect! Hence concord alone is meritorious, so that all bear and love to bear the beliefs of each other. It is the desire of the beloved of the gods that all sects should be instructed, and should profess pure doctrines. All people, whatever their faith may be, should say that the beloved of the gods attaches less importance to gifts and to external observances, than to the desire to promote essential moral doctrines and mutual respect for all sects. It is with this object that the ministers of religion, the officers in charge of females, the inspectors, and other bodies of officers, all work. The result of this is the promotion of my own faith, and its advancement in the light of religion.

EDICT XIII.

Vast is the kingdom of Kalinga conquered by King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Hundreds of thousands of creatures have been reduced to slavery, a hundred thousand have been killed. Since the conquest of Kalinga, the king, beloved of the gods, has turned towards religion, has been devoted to religion, has conceived a zeal for religion, and has applied himself to the diffusion of religion,—so great was the regret which the beloved of the gods felt at the conquest of Kalinga. In conquering the country which was not subject to me, I, beloved of the gods, have deeply felt and

sorrowed for the murders, the deaths, and the reducing of the native inhabitants to slavery. But this is what the beloved of the gods has felt and sorrowed for more keenly. Everywhere dwell Brahmans or Sramans, ascetics or householders; and among such men are witnessed respect to authorities, obedience to fathers and mothers, affection towards friends, companions, and relations, regard for servants, and fidelity in affections. Such men are exposed to violence and to death, and to separation from those who are dear to them. And even when by special protection they themselves escape personal harm, their friends, acquaintances, companions, and relations are ruined; and thus they too have to suffer. All violence of this kind is keenly felt and regretted by me, beloved of the gods. There is no country where bodies of men like the Brahmans and Sramans are not known, and there is no spot in any country where men do not profess the religion of some sect or other. It is because so many men have been drowned, ruined, killed, and reduced to slavery in Kalinga that the beloved of the gods feels this to-day a thousand times more keenly.

. . . .

The beloved of the gods ardently desires security for all creatures, respect for life, peace, and kindliness in behaviour. This is what the beloved of the gods considers as the conquests of religion. It is in these conquests of religion that the beloved of the gods takes pleasure, both in his empire and in all its frontiers, with an extent of many hundred Yojanas. Among his (neighbours), Antiochus, king of the Yavanas, and beyond Antiochus, four kings, Ptolemy, Antigonas, Magas, and Alexander; to the south, among the Cholas, Pandyas as far as Tambapanni, and also the Henaraja Vismavasi; among the Greeks and the Kambojas, the Nabhakas and the Nabhapantis, the Bhojas, and the Petenikas, the Andhras, and the Pulindas;—everywhere they conform to the religious instructions of the beloved of the gods. There where the messengers of the beloved of the gods have been sent, there the people heard the duties of the religion preached on the part of the beloved of the gods, and conform and will conform to the religion and religious instructions. . . . Thus the conquest is extended on all sides. I have felt an intense joy,—such is the happiness which the conquests of religion procure! But to speak the truth, this joy is a secondary matter; the beloved of the gods attaches great value only to the fruits which are assured in a future life. It is with this object that this religious inscription has been engraved, in order that our sons and grandsons may not think that a new conquest is necessary; that they may not think that conquest by

the sword deserves the name of conquest; that they may see in it nothing but destruction and violence; that they may consider nothing as true conquest save the conquest of religion! Such conquests have value in this world and in the next; may they derive pleasure only from religion, for that has its value in this world and in the next.

EDICT XIV.

This Edict is engraved by King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. It is partly brief, partly of ordinary extent, and partly amplified. All is not connected yet, for my empire is vast, and I have caused much to be engraved, and will yet cause more to be engraved. Some precepts have been repeated because I attach particular importance to their being followed by the people. There may be faults in the copy,—be it that a passage has been truncated, or that the sense has been misunderstood. All this has been engraved by the engraver.

Such are the famous Fourteen Edicts of Asoka, by which he (1) prohibited the slaughter of animals; (2) provided medical aid for men and animals; (3) enjoined a quinquennial religious celebration; (4) made an announcement of religious grace; (5) appointed ministers of religion and missionaries; (6) appointed moral instructors to take cognisance of the conduct of people in their social and domestic life; (7) proclaimed universal religious toleration; (8) recommended pious enjoyment in preference to the carnal amusements of previous times; (9) expatiated on the merit of imparting religious instruction and moral advice; (10) extolled true heroism and glory founded on spreading true religion; (11) upheld the imparting of religious instruction as the best of all kinds of charity; (12) proclaimed his wish to convert all unbelievers on the principles of universal toleration and moral persuasion; (13) mentioned the conquest of Kalinga and the names of five Greek kings, to whose kingdoms, as well as to kingdoms in India, missionaries had been sent; and lastly, (14) summed up the foregoing with some remarks on the engraving of the Edicts.

From a historical point of view the second Edict is important as containing the names of Hindu kingdoms and of Antiochus of Syria: the fifth Edict also contains similar allusions; and the thirteenth Edict alludes to the conquest of Kalinga, which first brought Bengal and Orissa into close political relations with Magadha and Northern India. The same Edict names five Greek kings, and the original text containing these names deserves to be quoted.

ANTIYOKA *nama Yona Raja, param cha tena Antiyokena chatura Rajani,* TURAMAYE *nama,* ANTIKINA *nama,* MAKA *nama,* ALIKASANDARE *nama.*

These five names are those of ANTIOCHUS of Syria, PTOLEMY of Egypt, ANTIGONAS of Macedon, MAGAS of Cyrene, and ALEXANDER of Epiros. They were contemporaries of Asoka, and the latter made treaties with them, and with their permission sent Buddhist missionaries to preach the religion in those countries. The same Edict mentions names of kingdoms in India, or close to India, where missionaries were similarly sent.

Besides the Fourteen Edicts spoken of above, and which were published as one body of laws or moral rules, separate Edicts were published by Asoka from time to time, and some of them have been discovered.

An Edict published at Dhauli and Jaugada (south-west of Cuttack) lays down humane rules for the administration of the town of Tosali, recommends religious conduct to all subjects, and prescribes the quinquennial religious celebration alluded to above. The same Edict lays down that at Ujjayini and at Takshasila the celebration should be held once every three years.

A second Edict was published also at Dhauli and Jaugada, laying down rules for the administration of Tosali and Samapa, and conveying instructions to frontier officers. Two Edicts, one at Sahasaram (south-east of Benares) and one at Rupnath (north-east of Jubbulpur), have been translated by Dr. Buhler, and contain pious

exhortations, and inform us that 256 missionaries (Vivutha) had been appointed and sent in all directions by the pious emperor. The inscription at Bairat (south-west of Delhi) is a communication to the clergy of Magadha, and contains Asoka's profession of faith in Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha,—the Buddhist Trinity. A pious Edict of the second queen of Asoka has been discovered at Allahabad, and three new inscriptions of Asoka have lately been discovered in Mysore.

We now turn to the inscriptions in Caves.

The Cave inscriptions known are those of the Barabar and Nagarjuni caves, about sixteen miles north of Gaya; the Khandagiri caves, south of Cuttack; and the Ramgarh caves, in the Central Provinces. The inscriptions in the Barbar caves declare that they were given by Asoka (Piyadasi) to religious mendicants; and those in the Nagarjuni caves state that they were the gift of Asoka's successor Dasaratha. The Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves were mostly gifts of the kings of Kalinga (Orissa).

And, lastly, we turn to the inscriptions on Pillars. The famous pillars of Delhi and Allahabad attracted the attention and defied the skill of antiquarians from the time of Sir William Jones, until the inscriptions on them were first deciphered by Prinsep. Besides the two Delhi pillars and the Allahabad pillar, there are two inscribed pillars at Lauria, in Tirhoot, and one at Sanchi, in Bhopal.

The same six Edicts are published in nearly all the pillars, while two more edicts are found in the Delhi pillar called the Lat of Feruz Shah. It will be remembered that these Eight Edicts were proclaimed in the 27th and 28th years after Asoka's anointment; they contain little information about the emperor's politics, and are replete with moral and religious instructions, and accounts of works of public good and public utility. Briefly, the pious emperor (1) directed his officers of religion to work with zeal and pious anxiety; (2) explained religion to be mercy, charity, truth, and purity;

(3) inculcated self-questioning and the avoidance of sins; (4) entrusted the religious instruction of the people to Rajjukas, and allowed prisoners condemned to death three days' grace; (5) prohibited the killing of various animals; (6) proclaimed his goodwill to his subjects and hoped for the conversion of all sects; (7) hoped that his Edicts and religious exhortations would lead men to the right path; and (8) lastly, recounted his works of public utility and his measures for the religious advancement of the people, and enjoined the conversion of the people by moral persuasion. The following translation of the Eight Edicts is based on the interpretation of Senart:—

EDICT I.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 26 years after my anointment, I caused this Edict to be engraved. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to secure without an excessive zeal for religion, a rigorous supervision, a perfect obedience, a lively sense of responsibility, and a constant activity (on the part of my officers). But, thanks to my instruction, this anxiety and zeal for religion increase and will increase day by day. And my officers, superior, middling, and subaltern, conform themselves to it and direct the people in the right path, and keep them in cheerful spirits; and so too my frontier officers (Anta-mahamatra) work. For the rule is this: government by religion, law by religion, progress by religion, and security by religion.

EDICT II.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Religion is excellent. But it will be asked,—what is this religion? Religion consists in doing the least possib'e evil and the greatest possi ble good,—in mercy, charity, truth, and purity of life. Thus have I bestowed gifts of all kinds to men and to quadrupeds, to birds, and to animals that live in the waters. I have extended manifold favours for their good, even to supplying them with water for drink; and have performed many other meritorious acts. To this purpose have I caused the Edict to be engraved, so that men may conform to it and travel in the right path, and that it may endure for ages. He who will act in conformity thereto, will do what is good and meritorious.

EDICT III.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. One sees only his good acts, and says,—I have done such a good act. But one does not see his evil acts, and does not say,—I have committed this evil act; this act is a sin. Such examination is painful, it is true, but nevertheless it is necessary to question one's self and to say,—Such things are sinful, as mischief, cruelty, anger, and pride. It is necessary to examine one's self carefully, and to say,—I will not harbour envy, nor calumniate others. This will be beneficial to me here below; this will be in truth still more beneficial to me in the life to come.

EDICT IV.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 26 years after my anointment, I caused this Edict to be engraved. I have appointed Rajukas over the people among hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. I have reserved to myself the power to prosecute and to punish the Rajukas in order that they may in perfect confidence and security perform their duties, and promote the good of the people of my empire. They take account alike of progress and of suffering, and with the faithful, they exhort the people of my empire to secure to them happiness here below, and salvation in the future. The Rajukas obey me; the Purushas also obey my wishes and my orders and spread my exhortations, so that the Rajukas may work to my satisfaction. Even as one confides his infant to a careful nurse and feels secure, and says,—A careful nurse has charge of my infant,—even so I have appointed the Rajukas for the good of my subjects. And in order that they may with confidence and security, and free from anxiety, discharge their duties, I have reserved to myself the power to prosecute and punish them. It is desirable to maintain equality both in prosecution and in penalities. From this date therefore this rule is ordained,—To prisoners, who have been judged and condemned to death, I allow a grace of three days. They shall be informed that they shall live for this period, neither more nor less. Thus warned of the limit of their existence, they will bestow alms for the benefit of their future existence, or will practice fasting. I desire that even when confined in a prison, they shall be assured of the future; and I ardently desire to see the advancement of religious acts, the control of the senses, and the distribution of

EDICT V.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 26 years after my anointment, I have published the killing of any of the following kinds of living creatures, viz., the *suka*, the *sarika*, *aruna*, the *chakravaka*, the *hansa* (wild duck), the *nandimukha*, the *gairata*, the *gelata* (bat), the *ambaka pillika*, the *dadi*, the *anasthika* fish, the *vedaveyaka*, the *pupuia* of the Ganges, the *sankuja* fish, the *kaphatasayaka*, the *pamnasasa*, the *simala*, the *sandaka*, the *okapinda*, the *palasata*, the *svetakapota* (white pigeon), the *gramakapota* (village pigeon) and all quadrupeds which are not of use and are not eaten. The she-goat, the sheep, and the sow should not be killed when heavy with young or giving milk, or until their young ones are six months old. One shall not make capons. Living creatures shall not be burnt. Jungles shall not be burnt either recklessly or to kill the creatures inhabiting them. Animals shall not be fed on other living animals. At the full moon of the three Chaturmasyas (four-monthly celebrations), at the conjunction of the full moon with the constellation Tishya, and with the constellation Punarvasu, on the 14th and the 15th day of the moon and the day following the full moon, and generally on each *Uposatha* day, one should not kill or sell fish. On these days neither animals kept in game-forests, nor fishes in tank, not any other kind of living beings shall be killed. On the 8th, the 14th, and the 15th day of each lunar fortnight, and on the days following the full moon of the Tishya, the Punarvasu, and the three *Chaturmasyas*, one shall not mutilate the bull, the goat, the sheep, or the pig, or any other animals which are mutililated. Neither the horse nor the bull shall be branded on the full moon days Tishya, Punarvasu, and the Chaturmasyas, and on the first days of the fortnights succeding the full moon days of the Chaturmasyas. In the twenty six years from my anointment, I have liberated twenty-six prisoners.

EDICT VI.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 12 years after my anointment, I caused Edicts to be engraved (for the first time) for the good and the happiness of the people. I flatter myself that they will profit by it, and will make progress in religion in manifold ways; and thus the Edicts will tend to the benefit and the happiness of the people. I adopted means calculated to promote the happiness of my subjects,—those who are far from me, as well as

those who are near me,—and also of my own relations. Hence I watch over all my bodies of officers. All sects receive from me gifts in mainfold ways. But it is their own conversion which I consider the most important. I have caused this Edict to be engraved twenty-six years after my anointment.

EDICT VII.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Kings who ruled in past times desired that men should make progress in religion. But men did not make any progress in religion according to their desire. Then thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. I have reflected that kings who ruled in past times desired that men should make progress in religion, and men made no progress in religion according to their desire,—by what means can I lead them in the right path? By what means can I cause them to make progress in religion according to my desire? By what means can I cause them to advance in religion? Then thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. I have formed the resolution of publishing religious exhortations and of promulgating religious instructions, so that men on hearing these will enter on the right path and will elevate themselves.

EDICT VIII.

I have promulgated religious exhortations and given manifold instructions on religion in order that religion may make rapid progress. I have appointed numerous officers over the people, each employed in his duty towards the people, in order that they may spread instruction and promote goodness. Thus I have appointed Rajukas on many thousands of men, and they have received my order to instruct the faithful. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. It is with this single idea that I have raised *pillars* with religious inscriptions, that I have appointed ministers of religion (Dharma-mahamatra), that I have spread afar religious exhortations. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Along the highways I have planted Nyagrodha trees, that they may give shade to men and to animals; I have planted out gardens with mangoes; I have caused wells to be dug every half *krosa*; and in numerous places I have erected resting houses for the reprose of men and of animals. But the truest enjoyment for myself is this. Previous kings and myself have contributed to the

happiness of men by various beneficial acts; but to make them follow the path of religion, it is with this object that I regulate my actions. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. I have also appointed ministers of religion in order that they may exert in every way in works of charity, and that they may exert themselves among all sects, monks as well as worldly men. I have also had in view the interest of the clergy, of Brahmans, of religious mendicants, of religious Nirgranthas, and of various sects among whom my officers work. The Mahamatras exert themselves, each in his corporation, and the ministers of religion work generally among all sects. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. [8] These and other officers are my instruments, and they work to distribute my alms and those of the queens. Throughout my palace they work in manifold ways, each in the apartments entrusted to him. I learn also that both here and in the provinces they distribute the alms of my children, and specially of the royal princes, to favour acts of religion and the practice of religion. In this way acts of religion are promoted in the world, as well the practice of religion, viz., mercy and charity, truth and purity, kindness and goodness. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. The manifold acts of goodness which I accomplish serve as an example. Through them, men have advanced, and will advance, in obedience to relations and to teachers, in kindly consideration for the aged, and in regard towards Brahmans and Sramans, towards the poor and the miserable—yea, towards servants and slaves. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. The progress of religion among men is secured in two ways,—by positive rules,—and by religious sentiments which one can inspire in them. Of these two methods, that of positive rules is of poor value; it is the inspiration in the heart which best prevails. Positive rules consist in what I order,—when, for instance, I prohibit the slaughter of certain animals or lay down other religious rules, as I have done to a large number. But it is solely by a change in the sentiments of the heart that religion makes a real advance in inspiring a respect for life and in the anxiety not to kill living beings. It is with this view that I have promulgated this inscriptions, in order that it may endure for my sons and my grandson, and as long as the sun and the moon endure, and in order that they may follow my instructions. For by following this path one secures happiness here below, and in the other world. I have caused this Edict to be engraved twenty-seven years after my anointment. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Wherever this Edict exists, on pillars of stone, let it endure unto remote ages.

The Edict *has* endured unto remote ages; and within the two thousand years which have succeeded, mankind has discovered no nobler religion than to promote in this earth "mercy and charity, truth and purity, kindness and goodness."

CHAPTER VIII.

LANGUAGE AND ALPHABET.

The inscriptions of Asoka are invaluable to us for a study of the language and alphabet of Northern India in the third century B.C. The Edicts are undoubtedly in the language which was spoken and understood by the people in Asoka's time; and the fact that the same Edicts are recorded in dialects slightly differing from each other, in the different parts of India, prove that the great emperor desired to publish his laws in the dialect which was spoken by the people in each separate portion of his extensive empire.

The inscriptions show that the spoken language of Northern India was essentially the same, from the Himalaya to the Vindhya mountains, and from the Indus to the Ganges. There are slight variations, however, from which antiquarians have made out three varieties of the spoken tongue of the period. General Cunningham calls them the *Punjabi*, or Western dialect, the *Ujjaini* or Middle dialect, and the *Magadhi* or Eastern dialect.

The Punjabi dialect is closer to Sanscrit than the others. It retains the *r* in such words as Priyadarsi, Sramana, &c.; it retains the three sibilants of the Sanscrit; and it shows a nearer approach to Sanscrit forms. The Ujjaini dialect has *r* as well as *l*; while the Magadhi dialect is marked by the entire absence of *r*, for which *l* has been substituted, *Laja* for *Raja*, *Dasalatha* for *Dasaratha*, &c.

Considering, then, the slightly varying dialects as one

spoken language, antiquarians have held that that language is Pali. Prinsep called the language to be "intermediate between Sanscrit and Pali." Wilson made a careful and searching examination of four different versions of the Rock Edicts, and stated his opinion that "the language itself is a kind of Pali, offering for the greater portion of the words forms analogous to those which are modelled by the rules of the Pali grammar still in use. There are, however, many differences, some of which arise from a closer adherence to Sanscrit, others from possible local peculiarities, indicating a yet unsettled state of the language."

Lassen agrees with Wilson in maintaining that the language of Asoka's inscriptions is Pali, and he further maintains that the Pali is the eldest daughter of the Sanscrit,—the oldest spoken tongue in Northern India after Sanscrit had ceased to be a spoken tongue. Muir supports this view by a comparison of the language of the inscriptions with the language of the Buddhist Scriptures taken to Ceylon in the third century B.C., and proves that they are pretty much the same language,—Pali. In an "essai sur le Pali," written by Burnouf and Lassen, those learned authors maintain that Pali stands "on the first step of the ladder of departure from Sanscrit, and is the first of the series of dialects which break up that rich and fertile language."

This, then, is a sufficiently clear and definite fact, which is invaluable to the historian of India. We know the spoken tongue of the Vedic Age, which has been preserved in the simplest and most beautiful hymns of the Rig Veda. We know the spoken tongue of the Epic Age, which has been preserved in the prose Brahmanas and Aranyakas. After 1000 B.C., there was a growing divergence between the spoken and the written tongue. Learned Sutras were composed in the old grammatical Sanscrit, while the people spoke, and Gautama preached in the sixth century B.C., in a somewhat simpler and more fluent language. What that language was, we

know from the Edicts of Asoka; for the spoken tongue could not have changed very much from 477 B.C., when Gautama died, to 260 B.C., when Asoka reigned. The spoken language then of the third or Rationalistic Period was an early form of Pali, by whatever names (Magadhi, &c.) we may choose to call it. And varieties of this language continued to be the spoken tongue of Northern India during the fourth or Buddhist period.

In the fifth or Puranic Period, the Pali had been considerably altered and formed into the different Prakrit dialects which we find in the dramas of this period. The grammatical forms of the Prakrit depart more widely from the Sanscrit than those of the Pali, and historically too, we know that the spoken language of Kalidasa's heroines was later than the spoken tongue of Asoka. When the Puranic Period closed, another change took place; and the Prakrits were further modified into the Hindi, in Northern India, by 1000 A.D.

It will thus be seen that the spoken tongue of Northern India has undergone considerable changes within the last four thousand years. In the Vedic Period it was the Sanscrit of the Rig Veda; in the Epic Period it was the Sanscrit of the Brahmanas; in the Rationalistic and Buddhist Periods it was Pali; in the Puranic Period it was the Prakrits; and since the rise of the Rajputs in the tenth century it has been the Hindi.

From the subject of the spoken language of India we turn to the subject of alphabet, on which much has been written, and many wild conjectures have been indulged in.

The Devanagari character, in which Sanskrit is now written, is of comparatively recent origin. The oldest Indian character known is that in which Asoka's inscriptions were recorded in the third century before Christ. It is necessary to mention that these inscriptions are recorded in two distinct characters—one reading from right to left, like the modern Arabic and Persian, and the other reading from left to right, like the modern

Devanagari and the European characters. The former is confined to the Kapur da Giri inscription and to the coins of the Greek and Scythian princes of Ariana; and it has been called the *Ariano-Pali* or *North Asoka* character. The latter is the character of all other texts of Asoka's inscriptions, and has been called the *Indo-Pali* or *South Asoka* character.

The Ariano-Pali or North Asoka character is not one of Indian origin, and was never used in India except in the extreme western frontier. Mr. Thomas righly concludes that it has no claim to an indigenous origin in India, based, as it manifestly is, upon an alphabet cognate with the Phœnician. It died out after the first century A.D.

On the other hand, the Indo-Pali or South Asoka character was not only universally used in India, but can claim to be of indigenous Indian origin. As we have stated before, it reads from left to right, and it is the mother of the Devanagari and other modern Indian alphabets. Mr. Thomas has no hesitation in stating that it is an "independently devised and locally matured scheme of writing;" and he insists pointedly to the Indian origin of this alphabet, because it pleases many antiquarians to conjecture that the Hindus borrowed their alphabet from the Greeks or the Phœnicians.

General Cunningham maintains with Mr. Thomas the Indian orgin of the Indo-Pali character. His remarks on the subject of the origin of alphabets generally, and of the Indo-Pali alphabet in particular, are so thoughtful that we make no hesitation in making some extracts.

"The first attempts of mankind at graphic representation must have been confined to pictures or direct imitations of actual objects. This was the case with the Mexican paintings, which depicted only such material objects as could be seen by the eye. An improvement on direct pictorial representation was made by the ancient Egyptians in the substitution of a part for the whole, as

of a human head for a man, a bird's head for a bird, &c. The system was still further extended by giving to certain pictures indirect values or powers symbolical of the objects represented. Thus a jackal was made the type of cunning, and an ape the type of rage. By a still further application of this abbreviated symbolism, a pair of human arms with spear and shield denoted fighting, a pair of human legs meant walking, while a hoe was the type of digging, an eye of seeing, &c. But even with this poetical addition, the means of expressing thoughts and ideas by pictorial representations was still very limited. . . . It seems certain, therefore, that at a very early date the practice of pure picture writing must have been found so complicated and inconvenient, that the necessity for a simpler mode of expressing their ideas was forced upon the Egyptian priesthood. The plan which they invented was highly ingenious. . . .

"To the greater number of their pictorical symbols, the Egyptians assigned the phonetic values of the particular sounds of names, of which each symbol previously had been only a simple picture. Thus to a mouth, *ru*, they assigned the value *r*, and to a hand, *tut*, the value *t*. . . .

"A similar process would appear to have taken place in India, as I will presently attempt to show by a separate examination of the alphabetical letters of Asoka's age with the pictures of various objects from which I believe them to have been directly descended. . . . My own conclusion is that the Indian alphabet is of purely Indian origin, just as much as the Egyptian hieroglyphics were the purely local invention of the people of Egypt. . . . I admit that several of the letters have almost exactly the same *forms* as those which are found amongst the Egyptian hieroglyphics for the same things, but their *values* are quite different, as they form different syllables in the two languages. Thus a pair of legs separated as in walking was the Egyptian symbol for walking or motion, and the same form, like the two sides of a pair of

compasses, is the Indian letter *g*, which as *ga* is the commonest of all the Sanscrit roots for walking or motion of any kind. But the value of the Egyptian symbol is *s*; and I contend that if the symbol had been *borrowed* by the Indians, it would have retained its original value. This, indeed, is the very thing that happened with the Accadian cuneiform symbols when they were adopted by the Assyrians."*

General Cunningham conjectures that the Indo-Pali letter *Kh* is derived from the Indian hoe or mattock (*Khan*—to dig); that *Y* is derived from barley (*Yava*), or from a member of the human frame; that *D* is from the tooth (*Danta*), *Dh* from the bow (*Dhanus*), *P* is from the hand (*Pani*), *M* is from the mouth (*Mukha*), *V* is from the lute (*Vina*), *N* is from the nose (*Nasa*), *R* is from a rope (*Rajju*), *H* is from the hand (*Hasta*), *L* is from the plough (*Langa*), or from a member of the human frame, *S* is from the ear (*Sravana*), and so on.

"In this brief examination of the letters of the old Indian alphabet, I have compared their forms at the time of Asoka, or 250 B.C., with the pictures of various objects and of the different members of the human frame; and the result of my examination is the conviction that many of the characters still preserved, even in their simpler alphabetical forms, very strong and marked traces of their pictorial origin. My comparison of the symbols with the Egyptian hieroglyphics shows that many of them are almost identical representations of the same objects. But as the Indian symbols have totally different values from those of Egypt, it seems almost certain that the Indians must have worked out their system quite independently, although they followed the same process. They did not, therefore, borrow their alphabet from the Egyptians. . . .

"Now, if the Indians did not borrow their alphabet

* Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. i 1877, pp. 52 and 53.

from the Egyptians, it must have been the local invention of the people themselves, for the simple reason that there was no other people from whom they could have obtained it. Their nearest neighbours were the peoples of Ariana and Persia, of whom the former used a Semetic character of Phœnician orgin, reading from right to left, and the latter cuneiform character formed of separate detached strokes, which has nothing whatever in common with the compact forms of the Indian alphabet."*

We have quoted the opinions of Mr. Thomas and General Cunningham, as there are no higher authorities than they on the subject of Indian alphabets. Our readers will, however, feel interested in the opinions of other scholars on this very important subject.

Weber maintains that the Hindus borrowed their alphabet from the Phœnicians, but modified and expanded it is so much that the Indian alphabet may be called an Indian invention. Max Muller holds that India had no written alphabetic literature earlier than the fifth century B.C., and that the Indian alphabet is borrowed from the West. But Roth expresses his firm conviction, based on prolonged Vedic studies, that the vast collections of Vedic Hymns could not possibly have depended for existence or oral transmission, and he considers it as a *sine qua non* that writing was known in Vedic times. Buhler holds that the Indian alphabet with its five nasals and three sibilants must have been developed in the grammatical schools of the Brahmans; Goldstucker holds that writing was known when the Vedic Hymns were composed; and Lassen maintains that the Indo-pali or South Asoka alphabet is of purely indigenous Indian origin.

* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. i. pp. 60 and 61.

CHAPTER IX.

THE KINGS OF MAGADHA.

"I KNOW the Rig Veda, sir," says Narada in the Chhandogya Upanishad (VII, 1, 2), "the Yajur Veda, the Sama Veda, as the fourth the Atharavana, as the fifth the Itihasa-Purana," &c. This and other similar passages in the literature of Epic Period would lead to the conclusion that some kind of annals of kings and dynasties existed, even in that ancient period, which were known as Itihasa-Puranas. If such annals existed, beyond what we find in the Brahmanas themselves, they have long since been lost. Probably such annals were preserved in the traditions of the people, and were altered and re-cast, and mixed up with legends from century to century, and from age to age, until, after about two thousand years, they finally assumed the shape in which we find them now,—the modern Puranas. For the Puranas which exist now were compiled in the Puranic Period, and have since been altered and considerably enlarged during many centuries *after* the Mahommedan conquest of India.

When these Puranas were first discovered by Sir William Jones and other European scholars, great hopes were entertained that they would throw light on the ancient history of India. A best of eminent scholars turned their attention to this new field of inquiry, and Dr. H. H. Wilson gave to English readers a translation of the Vishnu Purana, "in the hope of supplying some of the necessary means to a satisfactory elucidation

of an important chapter in the history of the human race."*

The royal race of Kosalas is called in the Puranas the race of the Sun, while that of the Kurus is called the race of the Moon. According to the Puranas there were no less than ninety-three kings of the solar line, and no less than forty-five kings of the lunar line before the Kuru-Panchala war was fought. Accepting B.C. 1250 as the date of the war, as we have done, and giving a modest average of the fifteen years for each reign, it would seem that the Aryans settled in the Gangetic valley and founded kingdoms there, not about 1400 B.C. as we have imagined, but at least a thousand years earlier. It would seem that Indian antiquarians have been too modest in their supposition about the limits of the Epic Age, and that instead of fixing four centuries, from B.C. 1400 to 1000, for that age, we could extend it to fifteen centuries from B C. 2500 to 1000. And as the Vedic Period preceded the Epic Age, we could reckon the former B.C. 3000, if not a still earlier date.

We have mentioned these facts to show that the dates which are generally given for the first two epochs of Indian history are merely tentative, and that further researches may require their extension, as has been the case in the instances of Egypt and Chaldea. We do not yet feel justified in extending them, merely on the authority of the lists preserved in the Puranas of the solar and lunar kings; but nevertheless these lists are important and suggestive. They remind us that the rise and fall of nations and dynasties in India cannot always be limited within the brief limits of a few centuries, but may have occupied a thousand years and more. And they also remind us that if we have accepted B.C. 2000 as the commencement of the Vedic Period, it is only as a tentative measure, and that future researches may justify our extending it to B C. 3,000, or to a yet remoter date.

* Preface to the *Vishnu Purana*.

To return now to the Puranic lists. It is scarcely necessary to mention that among the solar kings we find the name of Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, and among the lunar kings we find the names of the five Pandava brothers, the heroes of the Mahabharata. Among the lunar kings we also find the names of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Sumbha, and Pundra, which are really local names, being East Behar, East Bengal, Orissa, Tippera, and North Bengal respectively. Legends connected with the colonisation of Eastern India must have been mixed up with the accounts of the royal race of the Kurus.

It will thus be seen that annals of the solar and lunar dynasties preserved in the Puranas are partly historical and partly legendary. In this respect they may be compared with the chronicles of the world's history written and copied from century to century by European monks in the Middle Ages. Each monk began with the creation of the world, as each Purana begins with the founders of the solar and the lunar dynasties; and, like the writers of the Puranas, Christian monks wove together legends, miracles, with episodes from Jewish history, and narrated the discovery of Britain by the Trojans, and the fables about Arthur and Roland, along with real historical facts and incidents. Nevertheless, there was a portion in the chronicle of each renowned monk which had its value for the purposes of history. As the writer came nearer to his time, he generally wrote an authentic account of his country, its kings and its monasteries. And as if to complete the parallel, we find something at the very close of the Puranic annals, which is valuable for our historical purpose.

The existing Puranas, as we have said before, were compiled or recast in the Puranic Period, *i.e.*, immediately on the close of the Buddhist Period. And as throughout the Rationalistic and Buddhist Periods the empire of Magadha was the centre of civilisation and power in India, the Puranas furnish us with something that is

valuable about this one kingdom,—Magadha. According to our custom, we will quote the lists from the Vishnu Purana which relates to this kingdom.

"I will now relate to you the descendants of Brihadratha who will be (the kings) of Magadha. There have been several powerful princes of this dynasty, of whom the most celebrated was Jarasandha. His son was Sahadeva; his son is Somapi;* his son will be Srutavat; his son will be Ayutayus; his son will be Niramitra; his son will be Sukshatra; his son will be Brihatkarman; his son will be Senajit; his son will be Srutanjaya; his son will be Vipra; his son will be Suchi; his son will be Kshemya; his son will be Suvrata; his son will be Dharma; his son will be Susrama; his son will be Dridhasena; his son will be Sumati; his son will be Subala; his son will be Sunita; his son will be Satyajit; his son will be Visvajit; his son will be Ripunjaya. These are Barhadrathas who will reign for a thousand years."

Although the Vayu Purana, the Bhagavata Purana, and the Matsya Purana agree with the Vishnu Purana in giving the Barhadrathas a thousand years, yet we will venture to correct these venerable authorities, and will scarcely give 5000 years to the twenty-two princes. Indeed the Vishnu Purana corrects itself, as we shall find further on.

"The last of the Brihadratha dynasty Ripunjaya will have a minister named Sunika, who, having killed his sovereign, will place his own son Pradyotana upon the throne. His son will be Palaka; his son will be Visakhayupa; his son will be Janaka; and his son will be Nandivardhana. These five kings of the house of Pradyota will reign over the earth for a hundred and thirty-eight years.

* The writer is supposed to be living at the time of Somapi, *i. e.*, shortly after the Kuru-Panchala war, and therefore speak in the future tense of prophecy of the succeeding princes.

"The next prince will be Sisunaga; his son will be Kakavarna; his son will be Kshemadharman; his son will be Kshatraujas; his son will be Vidmisara; his son will be Ajatasatru; his son will be Darbhaka; his son will be Udayasva; his son will also be Nandivardhana; and his son will be Mahanandin. These ten Saisunagas will be kings of the earth for three hundred and sixty-two years."

Here we will pause, for we find in the list one or two names with which we are already familiar. Vidmisara is called Bimbisara in the Vayu Purana, and is the same king of Rajagriha in whose reign Gautama Buddha was born in Kapilavastu. And his son Ajatasatru is the powerful king in the eighth year of whose reign Gautama died. We have accepted 477 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death, and allowing a hundred years for the remaining portion of Ajatasatru's reign and the reigns of his four successors, we get about 370 B.C. as the date when Mahanandin died, and the dynasty of the Sisunagas was at an end.

If now we accept the periods which have been given for the different dynasties in the Vishnu Purana, we get, 1,000 years for the Brihadratha dynasty; 138 years for the Pradyota dynasty; and 362 years for the Sisunaga dynasty; or, in other words, exactly 1,500 years from the Kuru-Panchala war to the end of the Sisunaga dynasty. Or, in other words, if the Sisunaga dynasty ended about 370 B.C., the Kuru-Panchala war took place about 1870 B.C.

But the Vishnu Purana's chronology is wrong, and the Vishnu Purana's astronomy corrects its chronology. For, towards the close of the very chapter from which we have made the above extracts (Book IV, Chapter XXIV), the Vishnu Purana says: "From the birth of Parikshit to the coronation of Nanda, it is to be known that 1,015 years have elapsed. When the two first stars of the Seven Rishis (the Great Bear) rise in the heavens and some lunar asterism is seen at night at an equal distance between them, then the seven Rishis continue stationary in

that conjunction, for a hundred years of men. At the birth of Parikshit, they were on Magha; when the Seven Rishis are in Purvasadha, then Nanda will begin to reign." From Magha to Purvasadha both inclusive there are ten asterisms, and hence, it is calculated, a thousand years elapsed between Parikshit and Nanda. And if Nanda began his reign (*i.e.*, the Sisunaga dynasty ended) about 370 B.C. Parikshit was born early in the fourteenth century, and the Kuru-Panchala was fought about 1,400 B.C.

Our readers will see that this is within a century and a half of the date which we have assumed as the date of the Kuru-Panchala war in an earlier portion of this work.

If, on the other hand, we leave aside the astronomical reasons and assign an average period of 20 years* to the 37 kings of the Brihadratha, Pradyota, and Sisunaga dynasties, then we shall have for the Kuru-Panchala war a date 740 years before Nanda, or in other words 1110 B.C. And this date is also within a century and a half of the year which we have fixed for that war. The date we have fixed for the war must therefore be approximately correct.

From the above facts we will try to make out something like a probable list of dates for the Magadha kings. We know that Ajatasatru began his reign in 485 B.C., and that his father Bimbisara commenced to reign in 537 B.C. If we allow a hundred years to the four predecessors of Bimbisara, we arrive at the fact that the Sisunaga dynasty began at 637 B.C.

The Pradyota dynasty of five kings reigned before the Sisunaga dynasty, and these five reigns covered, we are told, a period of exactly 138 years. This gives a high average of over 27 years for each reign; but allowing for one or two long reigns, we may accept this period of 138 years for the Pradyota dynasty.

The Brihadratha dynasty with its 22 kings are said to

* This is a high average. But we must make allowance for weak kings with short reigns, whose names have been forgotten in later times, and have therefore not been included in the Puranic lists.

have reigned 1000 years. The figure is of course simply a round number, and has no value;—500 years would be nearer the mark, or rather let us say 484 years, to make it divisible by 22, the number of kings. Even this would give a high average of 22 years for each reign; but we may accept the average on the supposition that some unimportant reign have been omitted.

On these calculations we make out the following lists; but each reader must decide for himself how much reliance he will place on the lists of kings preceding the historic dynasty of Bimbisara and Ajatasatru, called the Sisunaga dynasty, which commenced in the seventh century B.C.:—

BRIHADRATHA DYNASTY.

	B.C.
Jarasandha	1280
Sahadeva (contemporary of the Kuru-Panchala war)	1259
Somapi	1237
Srutavat	1215
Ayutayus	1193
Niramitra	1171
Sukshatra	1149
Brihatkarman	1127
Senajit	1105
Srutanjaya	1083
Vipra	1061
Suchi	1039
Kshemya	1017
Suvrata	995
Dharma	973
Susrama	951
Dridhasena	929
Sumati	907
Subala	885
Sunita	863
Satyajit	841
Visvajit	819
Ripunjaya	797 to 775

PRADYOTA DYNASTY.

	B.C.
Pradyotana	775
Palaka	747
Visakhayupa	719
Janaka	691
Nandivardhana	664 to 637

SISUNAGA DYNASTY

	B.C.
Sisunaga	637
Kakavarna	612
Kshemadharman	587
Kshatraujas	562
Bimbisara	537
Ajatasatru	485
Darbhaka	453
Udayasva	432
Nandivardhana	411
Mahanandin	390 to 370

We will now proceed with our extracts.

"The son of Mahanandin will be born of a woman of the Sudra class: his name will be Nanda (called) Maha-

padma; for he will be exceedingly avaricious. Like another Parasurama, he will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race; for after him the kings of the earth will (be Sudras). He will bring the whole earth under one umbrella; he will have eight sons—Sumalya and others—who will reign after Mahapadma, and he and his sons will govern for a hundred years. The Brahman Kautilya will root out the nine Nandas."

We find in the above extract mention of low-caste kings ascending the throne of Kshatriyas, and of the growing power and supremacy of these kings of Magadha among the kingdoms of Northern India. We also find mention of Kautilya, the renowned Chanakya who vowed vengeance against the house of the Nandas (see the drama called Mudra Rakshasa) and held Chandragupta to ascend the throne of Magadha. The period of one hundred years assigned to Nanda and his eight sons is merely a round number, and has no value. We allow ample time to Nanda and his eight sons if we give them fifty years; and this brings us to B.C. 320 as the date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne of Magadha.

"Upon the cessation of the race Nanda, the Mauryas* will possess the earth; for Kautilya will place Chandragupta on the throne. His son will be Bindusara; his son will be Asoka Vardhana; his son will be Suyasas; his son will be Dasaratha; his son will be Sangata; his son will be Salisuka; his son will be Somasraman; and his successor will be Brihadratha. These are the ten Mauryas who will reign over the earth for a hundred and thirty-seven years."

The writer of the Vishu Purana here tells us of Asokavardhana, but does not vouchsafe to make any mention of the religious revolution which took place in his reign,—the greatest which the world has ever seen. To the Brahman narrator, the deeds of the scheming

* The commentator says that Chandragupta was the son of Nanda by a wife named Mura, whence the race was called Maurya.

Chanakya, who helped Chandragupta to the throne, are more worthy of mention than those of the imperial Asoka, who spread the name and religion of India from Antioch and Macedon to Cape Comorin and Ceylon! But to return to our story. Accepting the period of 137 years given for the Maurya dynasty, that dynasty came to an end in 183 B. C.

"The dynasty of the Sungas will next become possessed of the sovereignty; for Pushpa Mitra the general (of the last Maurya prince) will put his master to death, and ascend the throne. His son will be Agnimitra; his son will be Sujyeshtha; his son will be Vasumitra; his son will be Ardraka; his son will be Pulindaka; his son will be Ghoshavasu; his son will be Vajramitra; his son will be Bhagavata; his son will be Devabhuti. These are the ten Sungas, who will govern the kingdom for a hundred and twelve years."

The genius of Kalidasa has immortalised the name of the second prince of this line in the celebrated play *Malavika-Agnimitra.** But Agnimitra is there named the king of Vidisa, not of Magadha. And his father, Pushpamitra the general, is represented as fighting with the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks) on the Indus. This statement has probably some foundation in fact, for, after the time of Alexander the Great, the western frontier of India was the scene of continuous warfare between the Bactrians and the Hindus, and Magadha, as the central power in India, had to take its share in the wars. Accepting the period of 112 given to the Sunga dynasty, that dynasty came to its end in 71 B.C.

"Devabhuti the (last) Sunga prince being addicted to immoral indulgences, his minister, the Kanva, named Vasudeva, will murder him and usurp the kingdom. His son will be Bhumimitra; his son will be Narayana; his son will be Susarman. These four Kanvayanas will be kings of the earth for forty-five years."

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* It is doubtful, however, if Kalidasa is the real author of that play.

We will now assign dates to the kings of these dynasties, according to the periods fixed for the dynasties in the Vishnu Purana.

NANDA DYNASTY.

	B.C.
Nanda and his eight sons	370 to 320

MAURYA DYNASTY.

Chandragupta	320
Bindusara	291
Asoka	260
Suyasas	222
Dasaratha	215
Sangata	208
Salisuka	201
Somasraman	194
Brihadratha	187 to 183

SUNGA DYNASTY.

	B.C.
Pushpamitra	183
Agnimitra	170
Sujyeshtha	159
Vasumitra	148
Ardraka	137
Pulindaka	126
Ghoshavasu	115
Vajramitra	104
Bhagavata	93
Devabhuti	82 to 71

KANVA DYNASTY.

Vasudeva Kanva	71
Bhumimitra	59
Narayana	48
Susarman	37 to 26

The short reigns of the most of these kings, the frequent change in dynasties, and the displacement of royal houses by generals or ministers, show that the glory of Magadha had passed, and a period of weakness and senile decay had set in. The empire which had laid down the law for all India in the days of Chandragupta and Asoka was in the last stage of feebleness, and was ready to welcome any strong invader or line of invaders who might choose to rule its destinies. Such invaders came from the south. The Andhra kingdom had already risen to power and distinction in the Deccan in the Rationalistic Period; and an Andhra chief (described as a "powerful servant") now conquered Magadha, and his danasty ruled for four centuries and a half. Our last extract from the lists af the Vishnu Purana will give the names of these Andhra kings.

"Susarman the Kanva will be killed by a powerful

servant named Sipraka of the Andhra tribe, who will become king (and found the Andhra-bhritya dynasty). He will be succeeded by his brother Krishna; his son will be Sri Satakarni; his son will be Purnotsanga; his son will be Satakarni; his son will be Lambodara; his son will be Ivilaka; his son will be Meghasvati; his son will be Patumat; his son will be Arishtakarman; his son will be Hala; his son will be Puttalaka; his son will be Pravilasena; his son will be Sundara Satakarni; his son will be Chakora Satakarni; his son will be Sivasvati; his son will be Gautamiputra; his son will be Pulimat; his son will be Sivasri Satakarni; his son will be Sivaskandha; his son will be Yajnasri; his son will be Vijaya; his son will be Chandrasri; his son will be Pulomarchis. These thirty Andhrabhritya kings will reign four hundred and fifty-six years."

Only twenty-four names, however, are given in the above list, but, along with the Vayu and the Bhagavata Puranas, the Vishnu Purana says there were thirty kings of this line. And if the line began about 26 B. C., the period given above brings us down to 430 A. D.

If we divide this period of 456 years among the 24 princes named above, we get an average of exactly 19 years for each reign, as shown below:—

ANDHRA DYNASTY.

	B. C.		A. D.
Sipraka	26	Puttalaka	183
Krishna	7	Pravilasena	202
	A. D.	Satakarni III.	221
Satakarni I.	12	Satakarni IV.	240
Purnotsanga.	31	Sivasvati	259
Satakarni II.	50	Gautamiputra I.	278
Lambodara	69	Pulimat	297
Ivilaka	88	Satakarni V.	316
Meghasvati	107	Sivaskandha	335
Potumat	126	Yajnasri Gautamiputra II	354
Arishtakarman	145	Vijaya	373
Hala	164	Chandrasri	392
		Pulomarchis	411 to 430

These dates, however, do not coincide with the dates of the five sovereigns, from Gautamiputra I. to Gautamiputra II., as ascertained by scholars from inscriptions. It has been ascertained with tolerable certainty that these five kings reigned for nearly hundred years, from 113 to 211 A. D.

It is needless to remark that the power of the Andhra kings varied from time to time, and we will see in the next chapter that the distant country of Saurashtra was lost in the first century after Christ, but was reconquered by Gautamiputra II. The dynasty declined in the fifth century, and the empire of Magadha was then at an end; for, after the Andhras, various foreign tribes overran the country and brought ruin and disorder. The Vishnu Purana says that, after the Andhras "various races will reign as seven Abhiras, ten Gardhabhilas; sixteen Sakas; eight Yavanas; fourteen Tusharas; thirteen Mundas; eleven Mounas, who will be sovereigns of the earth."

CHAPTER X.

KASHMIR AND GUJRAT.

We have in the last Chapter confined our remarks to the main story of the central political power in India. We have seen that from the time of Sisunaga, in the seventh century B. C., the supreme power in India was held by the kings of Magadha. We have seen that after the destruction of several dynasties, the supreme power passed away to the hands of the Andhras, who held it from the first century B. C. to the fifth century A. D.

While the Andhras were wielding supreme power in the centre of India, the western provinces suffered from a series of foreign invasions, of which some account should be given.

After the retreat of Alexander the Great Chandragupta expelled the Greeks out of India, defeating Seleucus, the Greek ruler of the Indus provinces. The Greeks however, had an independent kingdom in Bactria, and there was frequent intercourse, sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, between the Hindus and the Bactrian Greeks. The Bactrian Greeks were great coiners, and it is from their coins that complete lists of their kings down to 130 B. C. have been compiled. Occasionally these kings extended their supremacy beyond the Indus,* and it is certain that their civilization and considerable influence over the civilization and the arts of the Buddhist Hindus, Greek sculptures are found among Buddhist ruins, and Greek inscriptions stamped on Hindu coins.

* Our readers will remember, for instance, that Menander the Bactrian king, conquered Western India as far as the Ganges.

About 126 B. C., the little civilised kingdom of Bactria came to an untimely end through the invasions of the Yu-Chi and other cognate Turanian tribes, who swept through Central Asia, and subsequently conquered Kabul and occupied the country as far as the Indus.* Havishka, a king of this race, ruled in Kabul. He seems to have been driven out thence, and conquered Kashmir, where his successors Hushka and the great Kanishka ruled after him, in the first century after Christ.

Kanishka was a great conqueror, and his empire extended from Kabul and Yarkand as far as Agra and Gujrat. Nothing like this had been witnessed in India since the time of Asoka the Great. Houen Tsang tells us that tributary princes from China sent hostages to him, and the town where the hostages lived was called Chinapati. Kanishka was also a staunch Buddhist ; he held the Great Council of the Northern Buddhists, and emissaries were sent to introduce Buddhism in the neighbouring kingdoms. We have already said before that the era known as the Sakabda was established from Kanishka's reign. Dr. Oldenburg maintains that the Saka Era is reckoned from the date of Kanishka's coronation, and this conclusion seems to be well founded.

On Kanishka's death his empire fell to pieces, and Kashmir sank into the insignificance from which it had risen. This kingdom has a history of its own, called the Raja Tarangini, † by Kahlana Pandita, who lived in the twelfth century after Christ, and we shall pause here to notice a few facts from this history.

Little of any importance is noted before the time of

* Our readers will remember that this troublesome tribe had penetrated into India 350 years before through the Himalayas, and was checked by Ajatasatru about the time of Gautama Buddha's death.

† An English translation of this work has been completed by my esteemed brother, Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt. Three volumes, Elm Press, 73, Maniktola Street, Calcutta, London, Trubner & Co.

Kanishka. We are told that fifty-two kings reigned for a period of 1266 years from the time of the Kuru-Panchala war to Abhimanyu, the successor of Kanishka. And this would place the Kuru-Panchala war in the twelfth century before Christ. We are also told that Asoka, the third king before Kanishka, was a Buddhist and "a truthful and spotless king, and built many Stupas on the banks of Vitasta." His successor Jaloka was an orthodox Hindu king, and drove back the *Mlechchas*, who were pouring in from the west. This horde must have been the Turanians who conquered Kashmir so soon after. Jaloka was succeeded by Damodara II., and then came the foreign conquerors, and "during their long reign Buddhist hermits were all-powerful in the country, and the Buddhist religion prevailed without opposition."

We subjoin a list of the thirty-one kings from Kanishka, and up to the time of Matrigupta, the contemporary of Vikramaditya of Ujjayini. If we accept 78 A.D. as the date of Kanishka's coronation, and 550 A.D. as the date of Matrigupta, then we get the intervening 472 years for 31 reigns, giving a not improbable average of over 15 years for each reign.

			A.D.
Kanishka	78	Aksha ...	340
Abhimanyu	100	Gopaditya ...	355
Gonanda	115	Gokarna ...	370
Bibhisana I.	130	Narendraditya ...	385
Indrajit	145	Yudhisthira ...	400
Ravana	160	Pratapaditya ...	415
Bibhisana II.	175	Jalauka ...	430
Nara I.	190	Tunjina	445
Siddha	205	Vijaya	460
Utpalaksha	220	Jayendra ...	475
Hiranyaksha	235	Sandhimati ...	490
Mukula ...	250	Meghavahana ...	505
Mihirakula	265	Shreshta Sena ...	520
Vaka	280	Hiranya ...	535 to 550
Kshitinanda	295	And Hiranya was ucceeded by Matrigupta.	
Vasunanda	310		
Nara II.	325		

A few of the kings deserve a passing notice. Nara I. is said to have been a violent persecutor of Buddhists, and burnt numerous monasteries, and gave the villages which supported them to Brahmans. In the reign of Mukula the *Mlechchas* once more overran Kashmir, but his successor Mihirakula was a great conqueror, and is said to have spread his conquests as far as Karnata and Ceylon. He was also a persecutor of Buddhists. Pratapaditya began a new dynasty. A severe famine visited Kashmir in the reign of his grandson Tunjina, in consequence of the *sâli* grain being blighted by a sudden and heavy frost. Meghavahana seems to have been favourably disposed towards Buddhism; he is said to have carried his conquering arms as far as Ceylon, and he prohibited the slaughter of animals in his own kingdom and in all the kingdoms he conquered. His queens built numerous Buddhist monasteries. His son Shreshta Sena and then his grandson Hiranya succeeded; and then a stranger Matrigupta was helped to the throne of Kashmir by Vikramaditya of Ujjayini, then all powerful in India.

From this brief account of Kashmir we now turn to Gujrat. We have stated before that the great Kanishka extended his conquests southwards as far as Gujrat. A race of rulers known as the Kshaharatas held sway in Gujrat as the vassals of Kanishka's successors. But after the time of Nahapana, these rulers became independent kings, and maintained their independence against the Andhras of Magadha, who claimed suzerainty over Saurashtra. These rulers, generally known as the "Shah kings," or the Kshatrapas, are known to us only by their coins and inscriptions, and it has now been settled after much controversy that they adopted the Saka Era, and all their coins and inscriptions are dated according to this era. A list of the Shah kings is given below, in the order in which they are placed by the industrious and able scholar Bhagvanlal Indraji. We give only one coin date for each king.

SHAH KINGS OF SAURASHTRA.

	Coin Dates.	A.D.		Coin Dates.	A.D.
Nahapana . .	41	119	Vijayasena . .	160	238
Chashtana . .	—	—	Isvaradatta . .	—	—
Jayadaman . .	—	—	Damajadasri. .	176	254
Rudradaman .	72	150	Rudrasena . .	180	258
Damazada . .	—	—	Bhatridaman .	200	278
Jivadaman . .	101	178	Visvasinha . .	198	276
Rudrasinha . .	103	181	Sinhasena . .	—	—
Rudrasena . .	125	203	Visvasena . .	216	294
Sanghadaman .	144	222	Rudrasinha . .	231	309
Prithivisena .	144	222	Yasodaman . .	240	318
Damasena . .	148	226	Sinhasena . .	—	—
Damajadasri .	154	232	Rudrasena . .	270	348
Viradaman .	158	236	Rudrasinha .	310	388
Yasodaman . .	160	238			

Among the many inscriptions of this dynasty which have been found in different places in Western India, we will only quote one, which is perhaps the earliest, and which will give our readers a fair idea of these inscriptions. The following inscription, found in the Nasik caves, belongs to Nahapana, who heads the list given above :—

To the Perfect One ! This cave and these small tanks were caused to be constructed on the mounts Trirasmi in Govardhana by the beloved Usavadata, the son-in-law of King Kshaharata Satrap Nahapana, son of Dinika, who gave three hundred thousand cows, presented gold, and constructed flights of steps on the river Barnasaya ; gave sixteen villages to gods and Brahmans ; fed a hundred thousand Brahmans every year ; provided eight wives for Brahmans at Prabhasa the holy place ; constructed quadrangles, houses, and halting-places at Bharukachchha, Dasapura, Govardhana, and Sorparaga ; made gardens, tanks, and wells ; charitably enabled men to cross Iba, Parada, Damana, Tapi, Karabina, and Dahunuka, by placing boats on them ; constructed Dharmasalas and endowed places for the distribution of water, and gave capital worth a thousand for thirty-two Nadhigeras for the Charanas, and Parishads in Pinditakavada, Govardhana, Suvarnamukha, Sorparaga, Ramatirtha, and in the village of Namagola. By the command of the lord, I went in the rainy season to Malaya to release Hirudha the Uttamabhadra.

The Malayas fled away at the sound (of our war music), and were all made subjects of the Kshatriyas, the Uttamabhadras. Thence I went to Poksharani, and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village.

The above inscription of Nahapana found in the Nasak caves is of great importance, as it shows how even a vassal of the Buddhist kings of Kashmir delighted in doing honour and making gifts to Brahmans, and how Hinduism and Buddhism flourished side by side in the centuries immediately succeeding the Christian Era, except when some intolerant prince occasionally filled the throne. To bestow gold and cattle and villages to Brahmans; to construct bathing *ghats*, halting-places, *Dharmasalas*, gardens, tanks, and wells; to establish free ferries, and to endow institutions for charitable purposes, were acts which were deemed worthy of royal charity and benevolence. And lastly, we learn from this inscription that the Saurashtras undertook an expedition against the Malayas in order to help a race of friendly Kshatriyas, the Uttamabhadras.

The most remarkable inscription of the Shah kings, however, is that on a bridge near Girnar, known as Rudra Daman's bridge, which was first read by James Prinsep, and revised and more correct readings have since been published. By referring to the list of kings given above, our readers will see that Rudra Daman was the third king after Nahapana, and reigned in the middle of the second century A.D. The inscriptions is remarkable on account of its reference to Asoka the Great, and his grandfather Chandragupta. We are told in the inscription that the ancient bridge was swept away by an inundation; that it was repaired by Puspagupta, the chief artificer of the Maurya king Chandragupta, and then by Tushaspa the Yavana Raja of Asoka; that it was then constructed by the great Satrap (Mahakshatrapa) Rudra Daman in the year 72 (Saka Era, *i.e.*, 150 A.D.). In this inscription Rudra Daman boasts that

having repeatedly overcome Satakarni, the lord of Dakshinapatha, he concluded an alliance with him. And he also boasts of having conquered Saurashtra, Kutch, and other places. The above inscription of Rudra Daman would show that the Shah kings of Saurashtra were often the rivals of the great Andhra kings.

On the other hand, Gautamiputra of the Andhra line boasts, in an inscription in a cave at Nassik, that he had conquered Saurashtra, Kutch, and other countries, and destroyed the race of the Kshaharata. This was Gautamiputra II., who ruled at the close of the second century after the Christian Era.

We have spoken of the invasions and conquests of three distinct races, viz., of the Bactrian Greeks in the second century before Christ, of the Yu-Chi and other cognate Turanians in the first century after Christ, and lastly, of their vassals the Shah kings, who ruled in Saurashtra for three centuries. Other invasions followed in the wake, of which history scarcely keeps any note.

At last, the great white Huns appeared on the scene in the fourth and fifth century of the Christirn Era. Their locust hordes spread over Persia, and compelled Bahram Gaur, king of Persia, to seek an asylum in India and an alliance with the king of Kanouj, whose daughter he married. It is probable that this royal maiden who espoused a Persian husband was a daughter of the Gupta line, for the Gupta emperors were then ruling in Kanouj, and were the paramount power in India. We will speak of them in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

GUPTA KINGS.

HALF a century ago, James Prinsep indicated the necessity of arranging all inscriptions found in India for the stu dy of the ancient history of India, and he also suggested that the collective publication should bear the name of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*

In 1877 General Sir Alexander Cunningham brought out the first volume of this proposed work, and this volume contains the inscriptions of Asoka which we have spoken of in the first chapter of this book.

In 1888 Mr. Fleet of the Bombay Civil Service brought out the third volume of this work containing the inscriptions of the Gupta kings, and giving a history of the controversy about the date of the Guptas, which has been carried on during the last forty years in India and in Europe.

The second volume of the proposed work, which would contain the inscriptions of the Shah kings of Saurashtra, has not yet been commenced. It is to be hoped that some able scholar and experienced archaeologist will yet be employed on this work, and will complete the collection of Indian inscriptions which are invaluable for the elucidation of the Buddhist Period of Indian History.

We have seen that the controversy relating to the date of the Guptas has gone on for well-nigh forty years, and many of the ablest Oriental scholars have engaged themselves in this controversy. The history of this remarkable controversy occupies over thirty folio pages of Mr. Fleet's

valuable work! Happily it is a controversy which is now at an end, and the conclusion arrived at is beyond reasonable doubt. Alberuni wrote in the eleventh century that the Gupta Era was posterior to the Saka Era by 241 years, or in other words, the Gupta Era begins with 319 A.D. All the facts collected during recent years confirm this statement, and we can now read the dates in the Gupta coins and inscriptions, remembering that we have to add 319 to them to find out the dates of the Christian Era. Mr. Fleet, with a pardonable partiality for his own labours, maintains that the Mandasor inscription which he has discovered finally settles the controversy. Scholars are pretty well agreed on this point, and the Mandasor inscription probably confirms the conclusion.

We give below a list of the Gupta kings, with their coin and inscription dates, and the corresponding years of the Christian Era :—

	Coin and Inscription Dates	A.D.
(Maharaja) Gupta ...	...	... About 300.
Ghatotkacha ...	... ...	... „ 310.
Chandra Gupta I. (or Vikramaditya)		... „ 319.
Samudra Gupta ...	...	... „ 350.
Chandra Gupta II. (or Vikramaditya)	82, 88, 93, 95	401, 407, 412, 414.
Kumara Gupta (or Mahendraditya)	96, 98, 129, 130	415, 417, 448, 449.
Skanda Gupta	136, 137, 138, 141, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149.	455, 456, 457, 460, 463, 464, 465, 467, 468.

Dr. Buhler supports the plausible view that the Gupta Era was in fact established by Chandragupta I. His successor, Samudra Gupta, reigned during the latter half of the fourth century. The famous Gupta inscription on the Allahabad *Lat* of Asoka throws much light on the extent of this great king's power and influence.

Whose great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by, his glory produced by the favour shown in capturing and then liberating Mahendra of *Kosala*, Vyaghraraja *Mahakantara*, Mantaraja of *Kerala*, Mahendra of *Pishtapura*, Svamidatta of *Kottura* on the hill, Damana of *Erandapalla*, Vishnugopa of *Kanchi*, Nilaraja of *Avamukta*, Hastivarman of *Vengi*, Ugrasena of *Palakka*, Kuvera of *Devarashtra*, Dhananjaya of *Kusthalapura*, and all other kings of the reign of *the South;*

Who abounded in majesty which had been increased by violently exterminating Rudradeva, Matela, Nagadatta, Chandravarman, Ganapatinaga, Nagasena, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman and many other kings of *Aryavarta*, who made by the frontier kings of the forest countries to become his servants;

Whose imperious commands were fully gratified by the payment of taxes and his execution of his orders by the frontier kings (*Pratyanta Nripati*) of *Samatata*, *Davaka*, *Kamarupa*, *Nepala*, *Kartripura*, and other countries; and by the *Malavas*, *Arjunayanas*, *Yaudheyas*, *Madrakas*, *Abhiras*, *Prajunas*, *Sanakanikas Kakas*, *Kharaparikas*, and other tribes;

Whose tranquil fame pervading the whole world was generated by establishing again many royal families fallen and deprived of sovereignty, whose binding together of the whole world, by means of the ample vigour of his arm, was effected by acts of respectful service,—such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, giving Garuda tokens, surrendering the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting his commands, &c.—rendered by the *Daivaputras*, *Shahis*, *Shahanushahis Sakas*, *Murundas*, and by the people of *Sinhala*, and all other dwellers in islands.

Here we have an elaborate and perhaps somewhat exaggerated account of the immense power of one of the early Gupta emperors. We learn that he conquered the kings of Kanchi, Kerala, and other countries *in Southern India;* that he exterminated the kings of Aryavarta or *Northern India;* that frontier kings Samatata (East Bengal), Kamarupa (Assam), Nepal, and other places, and nations like the Malavas, Madrakas, and Abhiras obeyed his orders and paid him tribute; and that even the Shahs and Shahinshahs of western countries, and the people of Ceylon sent him tribute in offerings and gifts, and handsome maidens from their lands. We are told,

towards the close of this inscription, that this great king was "the son of the son's son of the Maharaja the illustrious Gupta,"—"the son's son of the Maharaja the illustrious Ghatotkacha,"—" the son of Maharajadhiraja the glorious Chandragupta"—"begotten on the Mahadevi Kumaradevi," a daughter of the Lichchavi royal house.

Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II. and among his inscriptions there is a short one found at Sanchi, which makes a grant of a village to Buddhist monks,—the "Arya Sangha in the holy great Vihara of Kakanadabota." Elsewhere, in an inscription on a stone found in Mathura, Chandragupta gives us his mother's name,—describing himself as the son of the Maharajadhiraja Samudragupta "begotten on the Mahadevi Dattadevi."

Chandragupta II. was succeeded by his son Kumaragupta, who, in an inscription found in Bilsad, in the North-Western Provinces, gives us the entire genealogy of the family from the first Gupta. And he describes himself as "begotten on Mahadevi Druvadevi of the Maharajadhiraja the glorious Chandragupta."

Another inscription of Kumaragupta in Mankuwar, in Allahabad District, was discovered by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji in 1870. The inscription is under an image of Buddha seated, and we are informed that the image was installed by Kumaragupta in the year 129 (448 A.D.)

The celebrated Mandasor inscription discovered by Mr. Fleet was not engraved by order of the Gupta kings, but has reference to Kumaragupta, and may therefore be spoken of here. It is on a stone slab in front of a temple of Mahadeva in the village of Dasapura, in Scindia's dominions. The inscription informs us that some silk weavers immigrated to this place from Gujrat, and that a portion of them formed a flourishing guild. At the time "when Kumaragupta was reigning over the whole earth,' there was a ruler named Visvavarman, and his son Bandhuvarman was ruling in Dasapura when the

guild of weavers built a temple there, which was completed "in the season when the sound of thunder is pleasing, when 493 years had elapsed from the tribal constitution of the Malavas."

"Malavanam gana-sthitya yate sata chatushtaye
Trinavatya-dhikabdanam ritau sevya-ghana-svane."

And we are further informed in this inscription that the temple was repaired in the year when 529 years of the same Era had elapsed.

Mr. Fleet maintains that the particular Kumaragupta alluded to in this inscription of the Dasapura weavers is Kumaragupta of the Gupta line, and that the Era alluded to in this inscription is the Era of the Malavas, now known as Vikramaditya's Samvat Era beginning with 56 B. C. The temple was therefore built in (493—56)=437 A.D., and repaired in (539—56) 473 A.D.

This is a startling discovery; for if Mr. Fleet's supposition be correct, then the true origin of the *Samvat Era* is discovered. The Era was not founded by a Vikramaditya who reigned in 56 B. C., as was supposed by earlier scholars. *The Era was originally a national Era of the Malava tribe, and came subsequently to be connected with the name of Vikramaditya,* who about the sixth century A.D. raised the Malavas to the rank of the first nation in India.

Kumaragupta's son Skandagupta succeeded him and his inscription on the pillar discovered in Ghazipur District, and known as the Bhitari Lat, gives us the genealogy of the Gupta kings given before, and continues it to Skandagupta. More important is the inscription found in Junagarh, in the Bombay Presidency. After an invocation to Vishnu it tells us that Skandagupta,—who had subdued the whole earth as far as the seas, and whose fame was ackowledged even by his enemies "in the countries of the Mlechchhas,"—appointed Parnadatta to govern his kingdom of the Saurashtras. Parnadatta

appointed his son Chakrapalita. In the year 136 (Gupta Era, *i.e.* 455 A.D.), the lake at the foot of Girnar burst its embankment in consequence of excessive rain, and the restoration of the breach after two months' work was effected in 137, and is the cause of the inscription.

Skandagupta appears to have been the last great king of the Gupta line, and some weak kings succeeded. There is an inscription of Buddhagupta in Eran, in the Central Provinces, and dated 165, *i.e.*, 484 A.D. It informs us that Surasmichandra, the feudatory of Buddhagupta, governed the country between the Kalindi and Narmada. The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a column to the god Vishnu under the name of Janardana.

Another inscription in Eran alludes to Bhanugupta, and informs us that a chieftain or noble Goparaja accompanied him, and fought a battle and was killed. Goparaja's "devoted, attached, beloved, and beauteous wife, in close companionship, accompanied him into the funeral pyre."

The destruction of the powerful dynasty of the Guptas, which held the supreme power in India for over a century, has formed the subject of much controversy. Dr. Fergusson holds that the locust hordes of the White Huns which extended their invasions far and wide in Asia, weakened Persia, and dealt the death-blow to the Guptas in India. Mr. Fleet shows some reasons* for believing that the great and relentless Mihirakula of the Punjab and his father Toramana were Huns; that after the death of Skandagupta (who had once repelled the Huns) Toramana wrested Eastern Malwa from the Guptas about 466 A.D.; that Mihirakula began his career of conquest and destruction about 515 A.D.; and that he was at last quelled by Yasadharman the powerful king of Northern India. The sway of the Huns in Central India was thus of short duration, but Cosma Indico Pleustes, writing in the sixth century, tells us that

* Indian Antiquary, vol. xv. p. 245, &c; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii. p. 11, &c.

the Huns in his day were still a powerful nation settled and holding sway in the Punjab.

There and other foreign invaders, of whom we have spoken before, settled down among the people, adopted the language, the religion, and the civilisation of India, and thus formed new Hindu races, destined to play an important part in the political revolution which ensued at the close of the Puranic Period in the ninth and tenth centuries.

CHAPTER XII.

FA HIAN'S ACCOUNT OF INDIA.

In the last three chapters we have attempted to give our readers an account, unfortunately scanty and meagre, of some of the principal ruling dynasties in India in the Buddhist Period. But an account of ruling dynasties is not a History of India, and it is necessary that we should try to form a more distinct notion of the numerous races which inhabited India, their chief towns, their arts, and their civilisation. Happily we have some material at our disposal to help us in this undertaking, in the records of a Chinese traveller who visited India about the close of the period of which we are speaking.

Fa Hian came to India about 400 A.D., and begins his account of it with UDYANA, or the country round Kabul, with which he says North India commenced. The language then spoken here was the language of Mid-India, and the dress and food and drink of the people were the same.* Buddhism was then flourishing, and there were five hundred *Sangha-aramas* or abodes of monks. He passed through SVAT, GANDHARA, TAXASILA, and PESHAWAR, in which last place he saw a Buddhist tower of remarkable strength, beauty of construction, and height.

Travelling through Nagarahara and other countries, and after crossing the Indus, Fa Hian at last reached the MATHURA country on the Jumna river. On the sides of the river, both right and left, there were twenty

* Throughout this chapter we rely on Beal's translation, *Buddhist records of the Western World*, 2 vols., 1884.

Sangharamas, with perhaps 3000 priests. The religion of Buddha was progressing and flourishing. "Beyond the deserts are the countries of Western India. The kings of these countries (Rajputana) are all firm believers in the law of Buddha. . . . Southward from this is the so-called middle country (Madhyadesa). The climate of this country is warm and equable, without frost or snow. The people are very well off, without poll tax or official restrictions; only those who till the royal lands return a portion of profit of the land. If they desire to go, they go; if they like to stop, they stop.* The kings govern without corporal punishment; criminals are fined according to circumstances, lightly or heavily. Even in cases of repeated rebellion, they only cut off the right hand. The kings personal attendants who guard him on the right and left have fixed salaries. Throughout the country the people kill no living thing, nor drink wine, nor do they eat garlic or onions, with the exception of Chandalas only. . . . . In this country they do not keep swine nor fowls, and do not deal in cattle; they have no shambles or wine shops in their market-places. In selling they use cowrie-shells. The Chandalas only hunt and sell flesh. Down from the time of Buddha's Nirvana, the kings of these countries, the chief men and householders have raised Viharas, and provided for their support by bestowing on them fields, houses, and gardens, with men and oxen. Engraved title-deeds were prepared and handed down from one reign to another; no one has ventured to withdraw them, so that till now there has been no interruption. All the resident priests having chambers (in these Viharas), have their beds, mats, food, drink, and clothes provided without stint; in all places this is the case."

* It is abundantly proved by the literature of the Hindus, and by the testimony of Greek and Chinese travellers, that the system of agricultural slavery, which prevailed in Europe in the Middle Ages, was never known in India.

Our traveller passed through Sankasya and came to KANOUJ. Our readers will remember that Kanouj was at this time the flourishing capital of the Gupta emperors, but unfortunately Fa Hian has little to say about the city except its two Sangharamas!

Passing through Shachi, Fa Hian came to KOSALA and its ancient capital Sravasti. But that great city had declined since the days of Buddha, and the Chinese pilgrim saw very few inhabitants in the city, altogether about 200 families. But Jetavana, in which Buddha had often preached, had not lost its natural beauty, and the Vihara there was now ornamented with clear tanks, luxuriant groves, and numberless flowers of variegated hues. The monks of the Vihara, on learning that Fa Hian and his companion had travelled from China, exclaimed, "Wonderful! to think that the men from the frontiers of the earth should come so far as this from a desire to search for the law."

KAPILAVASTU, the birth-place of Gautama, was no more in its glory. "In this city there is neither king nor people; it is like a great desert. There is simply a congregation of priests, and about ten families of lay people." KUSHINAGARA, too where Gautama had died, was no longer a town. There were but few inhabitants, and such families as there were, were connected with the resident congregation of priests.

Fa Hian then came to VAISALI, once the proud capital of the Lichchavis, and the spot where Gautama had accepted the hospitality of the courtesan Ambapali. Here, too, was held the Second Council, and Fa Hian alludes to it: "One hundred years after the Nirvana of Buddha there were at Vaisali certain Bhikshus who broke the rules of the Vinaya in ten particulars, saying that Buddha had said it was so; at which time the Arhats and the orthodox Bhikshus, making an assembly of 700 ecclesiastics, compared and collected the Vinaya Pitaka afresh."

Crossing the Ganges, our traveller came to PATALI-

PUTRA or Patna, first built by Ajatasatru to check his northern foes, and afterwards the capital of Asoka the Great. "In the city is the royal palace, the different parts of which he (Asoka) commissioned the genii to construct by piling up the stones. The walls, doorways, and the sculptured designs are no human work. The ruins still exist." By the tower of Asoka was an imposing and elegant Sangharama, and temple with 600 or 700 monks. The great Brahman teacher Manjusri himself lived in the Buddhist Sangharama, and was esteemed by Buddhist Sramans. We have also here an account of the pomp and circumstance with which Buddhist rites were then celebrated. "Every year on the eighth day of the second month there is a procession of images. On this occasion they construct a four-wheeled car and erect upon it a tower of five stages, composed of bamboos lashed together, the whole being supported by the centre post, resembling a spear with three points in height 22 feet and more. So it looks like a pagoda. They then cover it over with fine white linen, which they afterwards paint with gaudy colours. Having made figures of the Devas, and decorated them with gold, silver, and glass, they place them under canopies of embroidered silk. Then at the four corners (of the car) they construct niches (shrines) in which they place figures of Buddha in a sitting posture, with a Bodhisattva standing in attendance. There are perhaps twenty cars thus prepared, and differently decorated. During the day of the procession, both priests and laymen assemble in great numbers. There are games and music, whilst they offer flowers and incense. The Brahmacharis come forth to offer their invitations. The Buddhas then one after the other enter the city. After coming into the town again they halt. Then all night long they burn lamps, indulge in games and music, and make religious offerings. Such is the custom of all those who assemble on this occasion from the different countries round about." This is a

valuable account from an eye-witness of the system of idolatry to which Buddhism had declined by the fifth century A.D.

More interesting to us is the account of the charitable dispensaries of the town of Pataliputra. "The nobles and householders of this country have founded hospitals within the city to which the poor of all countries, the destitute, cripple, and the diseased may repair. They receive every kind of requisite help gratuitously. Physicians inspect their diseases, and according to their cases order them food and drink, medicine or decoctions, everything in fact that may contribute to their ease. When cured, they depart at their convenience."

Fa Hian then visited RAJAGRIHA, the new town built by Ajatasatru, as well as the old town of Bimbisara. The traveller here alludes to the first Buddhist Council, which was held immediately after the death of Buddha to compile the sacred texts. "There is a stone cave situated in the northern shade of the mountain, and called Cheti. This is the place where 500 Arhats assembled after the Nirvana of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books."

At GAYA, Fa Hian found everything desolate and like a desert. He visited the famous Bo-tree and all the other places connected with Buddha's penances and attaining supreme wisdom, and tells legends which had grown up since Gautama's time. He then arrived at the country of Kasi and the city of Benares, where he visited the deer park where Gautama had first proclaimed the truth. Two Sangharamas had been built here. Thence he went to the ancient town of Kausambi, where Gautama had often preached.

From Benares, Fa Hian returned to Pataliputra. The purpose of Fa Hian was to seek for copies of the Vinaya Pitaka; but "throughout the whole of Northern India the various masters trusted to tradition only for their knowledge of the precepts, and had no originals to copy

from. Wherefore Fa Hian had come even so far as Mid-India.* But here in the Sangharama of the great vehicle he obtained one collection of the precepts."

Proceeding down the course of the river Ganges, the pilgrim came to CHAMPA, on the southern shore of the river. We have already said before, that Champa was the capital of Anga or East Behar, and was situated near modern Bhagalpur. Going further eastward and southward, Fa Hian came to TAMRALIPTI, which was then the great seaport at the mouth of the Ganges. There were twenty-four Sangharamas in this country; all of them had resident priests, and the law of Buddha was generally respected. Fa Hian remained here for two years, writing out copies of the sacred books, and drawing image-pictures. He then shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel. Putting to sea, they proceeded in a south-westerly direction, catching the first fair wind of the winter season. They sailed for fourteen days and nights, and arrived at the "country of the lions" (*Sinhala* Ceylon).

Ceylon, our traveller says, had originally no inhabitants, but merchants came in great numbers and gradually settled here, and so a great kingdom rose. Then the Buddhists came (Fa Hian says, Buddha came), and converted the people. The climate of Ceylon was agreeable and the vegetation verdant, and to the north of the royal city was a great tower 479 feet in height, with a Sangharama containing 5000 monks. But amid these pleasing scenes, the heart of the traveller sickened for his home, from which he was now separated for many years, and when on one occasion the present of a fan of Chinese manufacture by a merchant, to a jasper figure of Buddha 22 feet high, reminded Fa Hian of his native country, he "gave way to his sorrowful feelings, and the tears flowing down filled his eyes."

* The whole tract of country from Mathura to Magadha was [illegible]le India.

After a residence of two years in Ceylon, and after obtaining copies of the Vinaya Pitaka and other works "hitherto unknown" in China, Fa Hian shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel which carried about 200 men. A great tempest arose, and the ship sprung a leak, and much cargo had to be thrown overboard. Fa Hian threw overboard his pitcher and his basin, "and was only afraid lest the merchants should fling into the sea his sacred books and images." The hurricane abated after thirteen days, the passengers came to a little island where they stopped the leak, and then put to sea again. "In this ocean there are many pirates, who, coming on you suddenly, destroy everything. The sea itself is boundless in extent; it is impossible to know east or west, except by observing the sun, moon, or stars, and so progress. . . At length, the weather clearing up, they got their right bearings, and once more shaped a correct course and proceeded onward," and after over ninety days they reached Ye-po-ti (Java, or Sumatra). "In this country heretics and Brahmans flourish."

Stopping here for nearly five months, Fa Hian embarked on board another merchant vessel with a crew of about 200 men, who took fifty days' provisions with them. After they had sailed for over a month, a storm again arose, and the superstitious Brahmans said to one another, "It is because we have got this Sraman (Fa Hian) on board we have no luck, and have incured this great mischief. Come let us land this Bhikshu on any island we may meet, and let us not all perish for the sake of one man." But Fa Hian's patron boldly stood by him and saved him from a miserable death in some lonely island. After sailing for eighty-two days they arrived at the southern coast of China.

CHAPTER XIII.

BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE.

The Hindus first came in contact with a nation as civilised as themselves in the fourth and third centuries B.C., and a great deal has been written as to the indebtedness of the Hindus to the Greeks in the cultivation of their arts and sciences. As usual, some writers on the subject have rushed to hasty conclusions, and it has been asserted that in architecture and sculpture, and even in the art of writing and in their alphabet, the Hindus received their first lessons from the Greeks.

A cultured nation cannot come in contact with a great and civilised nation without deriving immense advantages in arts and civilisation. The gifted Greeks were certainly the most civilised nation in the earth in the fourth and third centuries before Christ, and what is more, they spread their wonderful civilisation over all the regions conquered by Alexander, until the whole of Western Asia from Antioch to Bactria presented the Greek type of civilisation, arts, and manners, That the Hindus were greatly indebted to the Greeks not only in the development of many arts, but also in the cultivation of some of the abstruest sciences like astronomy, will be conceded by all historians of India; and it will be our pleasing duty to acknowledge such friendly services rendered by one cultured nation to another, whoever we find facts justifying us in acknowledging such indebtedness, or even in presuming it. But it is necessary to warn our readers against hasty assumptions where facts are absolutely

wanting, or where facts go directly against such assumptions.

In architecture the Hindus were not indebted to the Greeks. Buddhist Hindus developed their school of architecture themselves from the very commencement; they created their own style, which is purely Indian; they borrowed from no foreign school of architecture or building. In Gandhara and in the Punjab columns have been found distinctly belonging to the Ionic order, and the general architecture, too, bears a Greek character. But in the vast continent of India itself, from Bombay to Cuttack, the architecture immediately before and immediately after the Christian Era is purely Indian in character. This would not have been the case if the Hindus had learnt their first lessons in architecture from the Greeks.

In sculpture, too, the Hindus (except in the Punjab) were not indebted to the Greeks. Dr. Fergusson, speaking of the rail of Bharut (200 B.C.), says: "It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the art here displayed is purely indigenous. There is absolutely no trace of Egyptian influence. It is in every detail antagonistic to that art. Nor is there any trace of classical art; nor can it be affirmed that anything here established could have been borrowed directly from Babylonia or Assyria. The capitals of the pillars do resemble somewhat those at Persepolis, and the honeysuckle ornaments point in the same direction; but barring that the art, specially the figure sculpture belonging to the rail, seems an art elaborated on the spot, by Indians, and by Indians only."*

Having thus cleared our ground, we will now proceed to give a very brief account of some of the most striking specimens which still exist of the architecture and sculpture of the Hindus of the centuries immediately before and after the Christian Era, and Dr. Fergusson will be our guide on this subject. Such specimens are nearly all the work of Buddhists. Architecture in stone, previous to the

* Indian and Eastern Architecture, London, 1876, p. 89.

Buddhist movement, was confined mostly to engineering works, such as city walls, gates, bridges, and embankments; and if palaces and religious and civil edifices were also sometimes built of stone, no specimens of such have come down to us. On the other hand, the Hindu and Jaina edifices of stone which abound in all parts of India belong to the period subsequent to the fifth century of the Christian Era, and will therefore be treated of when we come to the Puranic Period. In the present chapter, therefore, we will speak of works constructed in the Buddhist Period, and such works are all Buddhist.

Dr. Fergusson classifies the works under five heads, viz. :—

(1) *Lats*, or stone pillars, generally bearing inscriptions;

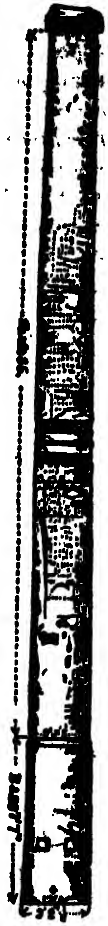
(2) *Stupas*, or topes, erected to mark some sacred event or site, or to preserve some supposed relic of Buddha;

(3) *Rails*, often of elaborate workmanship; often erected to surround topes;

(4) *Chaityas*, or churches; and

(5) *Virahas*, or monasteries.

The oldest LATS are those which were erected by Asoka in different parts of India, and bearing inscriptions conveying to his subjects the doctrines and moral rules of the Buddhist religion. The best known Lats are those of Delhi and Allahabad, the inscriptions on which were first deciphered by James Prinsep. Both of these bore the inscriptions of Asoka, while the Allahabad Lat also bore a subsequent inscription of Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty of kings, as we have stated before, and details the glories of his reign and the names of his ancestors. The Lat seems to have been thrown down and was re-erected by Emperor Jahangir in 1605 A.D., with a Persian inscription to commemorate the commencement of his reign. Like most other Lats this has lost its crowning ornament, but a Lat in Tirhoot bears the figure of a lion on the top and the Lat of Sankasya, between Mathura and Kanouj, bears the mutilated figure of



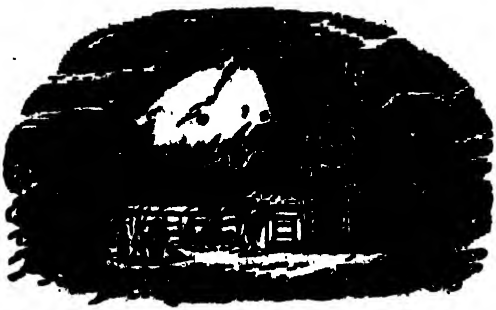
Allahabad Lat.

an elephant so mutilated that Houen Tsang mistook it for a lion. At Karli, between Bombay and Poona, a Lat stands in front of the cave of Karli surmounted by four lions. The two Lats at Eran are said to belong to the era of the Gupta kings.

The remarkable iron pillar near the Kutab Minar has been seen by every tourist and traveller who has been to Delhi. It is 22 feet above ground and 20 inches under ground, and its diameter is 16 inches at the base and 12 inches at the capital. There is an inscription on it, as on other Lats, but unfortunately the inscription bears no date. James Prinsep ascribed it to the fourth or fifth century, Dr. Bhau Daji to the fifth or sixth century. Admitting the fifth century to be its date, "it opens our eyes," as Dr. Fergusson states, "to an unsuspected state of affairs to find the Hindus at that age forging a bar of iron larger than any that have been forged even in Europe to a very late date, and not frequently even now. As we find them, however, a few centuries afterwards using bars as long as this Lat in roofing the porch of the temple at Kanarak, we must believe that they were much more familar with the use of this metal than they afterwards became. It is almost equally startling to find that after an exposure to wind and rain for fourteen centuries, it is unrusted, and the capital and inscription are as clear and as sharp now as when put up fourteen centuries ago."

Of the STUPAS, the Bhilsa topes are the most famous. Within an area ten miles east and west and six north and south, near the village of Bhilsa, in the kingdom of

Bhopal, there are no less than five or six groups of topes containing about twenty-five or thirty individual examples. General Cunningham first published an account of them in 1854, and since then they have been repeatedly described. The principal of these topes is known as the Great Tope of Sanchi, and has a base 14 feet high and a dome 42 feet high, and 106 feet in diameter at the point just above the base. The rails are 11 feet in height, and the gateway, covered with the most elaborated sculpture, which will be subsequently described, is 33 feet in height.



GREAT TOPE, SANCHI.

The centre of this great mound is quite solid; being composed of bricks laid in mud, but the exterior is faced with dressed stones. Over this there was a coat of cement which was no noubt adorned with painting and figures in relief.

There are many other groups near Sanchi, viz., one at Sonari, six miles away, one at Satdhara, three miles further on, and a numerous group at Bhojpur, seven miles from Sanchi. Another group is at Audhar, five miles from Bhojpur. Altogether there are no less than sixty topes within one small district.

Most of our readers who have visited Benares have seen the tope of Sarnath, erected in the old deer park,

where Gautama first preached his new religion. It consists of a stone basement 93 feet in diameter, solidly built to the height of 43 feet. Above it is brickwork, rising to a height of 128 feet above the surrounding plain. The lower part is relieved by eight projecting faces elegantly carved, and, with a niche in each. General Cunningham believes the date of this to be the sixth or seventh century A.D.

Another Bengal tope is known as Jarasandha-ka-Baithak, 28 feet in diameter and 21 feet in height, resting on a base of 14 feet. It is mentioned by Houen Tsang, and its date is probably 500 A.D.

The central Stupa or Dagoba at Amaravati which Houen Tsang saw no longer exists. In the Gandhara country there are numerous examples. The great Dagoba, however, of Kanishka, over 470 feet in height, which Fa Hian and Houen Tsang saw, is no more. The most important group of the Gandhara topes is that of Manikyala in the Punjab between the Indus and the Jhelum. Fifteen or twenty were found in the spot, some of which were first opened by Ranjit Sinha's French generals, Ventura and Court, in 1830. The principal tope has a dome which is an exact hemisphere, 127 feet in diameter, and therefore about 400 feet in circumference.

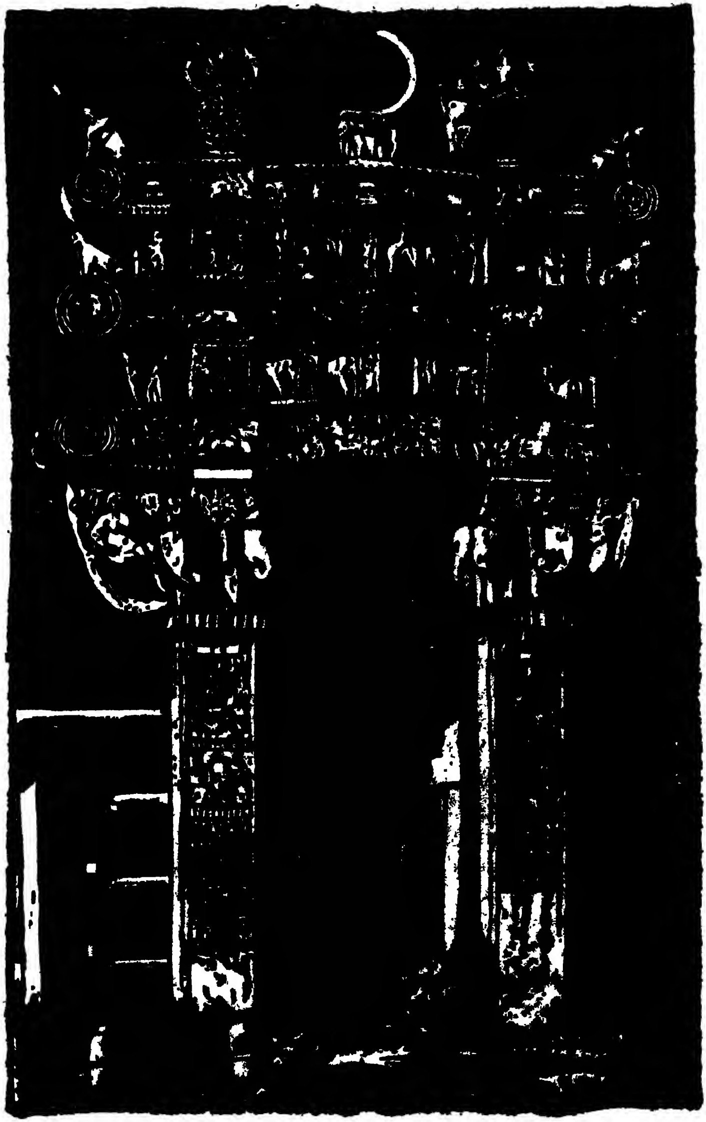
The most elaborately ornamented architectural works of the Buddhist period are the RAILS and gateways generally found round Stupas. The two oldest rails are those of Buddha Gaya and of Bharhut; Dr. Fergusson assigns 250 B.C. for the former and 200 B.C. for the latter. The former formed a rectangle 131 feet by 98 feet, and the pillars were 5 feet 11 inches in height.

Bharhut is situated between Allahabad and Jubbulpore. The tope enclosed here has entirely disappeared, having been utilised for building villages, but about one-half of the rail remains. It was oiiginally 88 feet in diameter, and therefore about 275 feet in length. It had four entrances guarded by statues 4½ feet high. From General Cunningham's restoration, it appears that the pillars of

the eastern gateway were 22 feet 6 inches in height. The beams had no human figures on them. The lower beam had a procession of elephants, the middle beam of lions, and the upper probably of crocodiles. The rail was 9 feet high, and the inner side was ornamented by a continuous series of bas-reliefs, divided from each other by a beautiful flowing scroll. About a hundred bas-reliefs have been recovered all representing scenes or legends. and nearly all inscribed with the title of the Jataka represented. It is the only monument in India which is so inscribed, and this gives the Bharhut rails a unique value.

We make no apology for quoting the following remarks of Dr. Fergusson's about the state of Indian sculpture as disclosed by these rails:—When Hindu sculpture first dawns upon us in the rails of Buddha Gaya and Bharhut B.C. 200 to 250, it is thoroughly original, absolutely without a trace of foreign influence, but quite capable of expressing its ideas, and of telling its story with a distinctness that never was surpassed, at least in India. Some animals, such as elephants, deer, and monkeys, are better represented there than in any sculptures known in any part of the world; so, too, are some trees, and the architectural details are cut with an elegance and precision which are very admirable. The human figures, too, though very different from our standard of beauty and grace, are truthful to nature, and where grouped together combine to express the action intended with singular felicity. For an honest, purpose-like-pre Raphaelite kind of art, there is probably nothing much better to be found anywhere."

The rail surrounding the great tope of Sanchi, in the kingdom of Bhopal, is a circular enclosure 140 feet in diameter, and consists of octagonal pillars 8 feet in height and two feet apart. They are joined together at the top by a rail 2 feet 3 inches deep, and between the pillars. This is, however about the simple strail arrangement



Gateway and Rail at Sanchi.

and the ornamentation on the rails increases in other places, until the scrolls and discs and figures become so elaborate and profuse as to completely hide the pillars and bars from the sight, and to entirely change the character of the original design.

The great tope of Sanchi, of which we have spoken before, was probably constructed in Asoka's time. Each rail is shown, by the inscription on it, to be the gift of a different individual. The four gateways were then added to the rail, probably during the first century of the Christian Era. Dr. Fergusson thus describes them :—

"All these four gateways, or toranas, as they are properly called, were covered with the most elaborate sculptures both in front and in rear,—wherever in fact their surface was not hidden by being attached to the rail behind them. Generally the sculptures represent scenes from the life of Buddha. . . . In addition to these are scenes from the Jatakas of legends, narrating events or actions that took place during five hundred births through which Sakya Muni had passed before he became so purified as to reach perfect Buddhahood. One of these, the Wessantara or the "alms-giving" Jataka, occupies the whole of the lower beam of the northern gateway, and reproduces all the events of that wonderful tale, exactly as it is narrated in Ceylonese books at the present day. . . . Other sculptures represent sieges and fighting and consequent triumphs, but, so far as can be seen, for acquisition of relics or subjects connected with the faith. Others pourtray men and women eating and drinking and making love. . . . The sculpture of these gateways form a perfect Picture of Bible of Buddhism, as it existed in India in the first century of the Christian Era."

The date of the Sanchi rail is said to be three centuries after that of Buddha Gaya and Bharhut rails; and the Amaravati rail is again three centuries posterior to the Sanchi rail. The date of the Amaravati rail is said to be the fourth or fifth century A.D.

Amaravati is situated on the southern bank of the Krishna river near its mouth, and was long the capital of the Andhara empire of Southern India. The Amaravati rail is leaded with ornament and sculptures. The great rail is 195 feet in diameter and the inner 165 feet, and between these two was the procession path. Externally the great rail was 14 feet and internally 12 feet, while the inner rail was solid and 6 feet high. The plinth of the great rail was ornamented by a frieze of animals and boys, and the pillars as usual were octagonal and ornamented with discs. The inside of the great rail was more richly ornamented than the outside, and the upper rail was one continuous bas-relief 600 feet in length. The inner rail was even more richly ornamented than the great rail with figures most elaborately carved with scenes from the life of Buddha, or from legends.

Two woodcuts given in Dr. Fergusson's work, one from the great rail and one from the inner rail, are interesting. The former represents a king seated on his throne and receiving a messenger, while his army in front defends the walls. Lower down the infantry, cavalry, and elephants sally forth in battle array, while one of the enemy sues for peace. The latter, *i.e.*, the woodcut from the inner rail, represents three objects of worship viz., a Stupa with its rails, a Chakra or wheel religion, and a congregation worshipping a relic or sacred tree.

We now come to the important subject of CHAITYAS, *i.e.*, assembly halls or churches. The great distinguishing feature of these Buddhist churches is that they are not constructed but excavated. Twenty or thirty churches are known to exist. and all of them with one exception are excavated rocks. The exeternal view of European churches and of Hindu temples forms their most distinguishing and noble feature: but of the Buddhist churches,—excavated in rocks—there is no external view except the frontage, which is often ornamented.

Nine-tenths of the Buddhist churches which exist

belong to the Bombay Presidency, and this is explained by the fact that the Western Presidency is the great cave district of India, with rocks peculiarly fitted for excavation.

There is a cave in Behar which is believed to be the identical Satapanni cave of Rajagriha, in which, or in front of which, the First Council was held immediately after the date of Gautama to fix the cannon. It is a natural cave slightly improved by art, and it was seen by Houen Tsang when he resided in Magadha.

There is an interesting group of caves sixteen miles north of Gaya, of which the most interesting is the one known as Lomasa Rishi's cave. The form of the roof is a pointed arch, and the frontage is ornamented with simple sculpture. The interior is a hall 33 feet by 19 feet, beyond which there is a nearly circular apartment. All the caves of this group are said to have been excavated in the third century B. C.

There are five or six Chaity caves in the Western Ghats, all of which are said to have been excavated before the Christian Era, and of which the cave at Bhaja is said to be the most ancient. As in the Buddhist rails, so in the Chaityas, we find architecture in stone slowly evolving itself out of wooden forms. The pillars of the Bhaja cave slope inwards at a considerable angle, as wooden posts would slope, to give strength to a structure; and the rafters of the caves are still of wood, many of which remain to this day. The date of this cave is said to be the third century B.C.

In the next group of caves, at Bedsor, considerable progress is manifested. The pillars are more upright, though still sloping inwards. The frontage is ornamented with rail decoration, the design being taken from actual rails as described before, but represented here merely as ornament. The date of the caves is said to be the first half of the second century.

The next cave is at Nassik. The pillars are so nearly

perpendicular that the inclination escapes detection, and the facade, though still exhibiting the rail decoration, shows a great advance in design. The date of the cave is said to be the last half of the second century.

And when we come at last to the cave at Karli, on the road between Poona and Bombay, we find the architecture of this class in its state of perfection. The pillars are quite perpendicular, the screen is ornamented with sculpture, and the style of architecture both inside and in front is chaste and pure. The Chaitya is said to have been excavated in the first century after Christ, and it is the largest and the most perfect Chaitya yet discovered in India; and the style of architecture was never surpassed in succeeding centuries.

The following account will interest our readers :—

"The building, as will be seen from the annexed illustration, resembles to a great extent an early Christian church in its arrangements, consisting of a nave and side aisles, terminating in an apse or semi-dome, round which the aisle is carried. The general dimensions of the interior are 126 feet from the entrance to the back wall, by 45 feet 7 inches in width; the side aisles, however, are very much narrower than in Christian churches, the central one being 25 feet 7 inches, so that the others are only 10 feet wide, including the thickness of the pillars. . . . Fifteen on each side separate the vane from the aisles; each pillar has a tall base, an octagonal shaft, and richly ornamented capital, on which kneel two elephants, each bearing two figures, generally man and a woman, but sometimes two females, all very much better executed than such ornaments usually are. The seven pillars behind the alter are plain octagonal piers without either base or capital. . . . Above this springs the roof, semicircular in general section, but somewhat stilted at the sides, so as to make its height greater than the semidiameter. . . . Immediately under the semi-dome of the

apse, and nearly where the altar stands in Christian churches, is placed the Dagoba. . . .

"Of the interior we can judge perfectly, and it certainly is as solemn and grand as any interior can well be. And the mode of lighting is the most perfect, one undivided volume of light coming through a single opening overhead at a favourable angle, and falling directly on the

KARLI CHAITYA.

altar or principal object in the building, leaving the rest in comparative obscurity. The effect is considerably heightened by the closely set thick columns that divide the three aisles from one another."—*Fergusson.*

There are four Chaityas at Ajanta, dating probably from the first century to the sixth century A.D. Statues of Buddha appear in the later Chaityas; and Buddhism,

as represented on the latest of these Chaityas, is very akin to the Hinduism of the sixth and subsequent centuries.

The Visvakarma cave of Ellora is a Chaitya belonging to the latter part of the Buddhist Period. The dimensions of the hall are 85 feet by 43 feet, and in the roof all the ribs and ornaments are cut in the rock, though still copied from wooden prototypes. In the facade we miss for the first time the horse-shoe opening which is the most marked feature in all previous examples. The facade of Ellora Chaitya looks like that of an ordinary two-storeyed house, with verandas richly sculptured.

The cave of Kenheri, on the island of Salsette in Bombay harbour, is well known. It was excavated in the early part of the fifth century A.D. It is a copy of the great cave at Karli, but very inferior in style.

Lastly, we come to VIHARAS or monasteries. Foremost among the Buddhist Viharas was the celebrated monastery of Nalanda (south of Patna), visited by Houen Tsang in the seventh century. Successive kings had built here, and one of them surrounded all the Viharas with a high wall which can still be traced, measuring 1600 feet by 400 feet. Outside this enclosure, again, Stupas and towers were built, ten or twelve of which have been identified by General Cunningham.

The architecture of this great monastery, however, has not been properly restored, nor the arrangements made clear. There are some reasons to suspect that the superstructure was of wood, and if that be so, scarcely a trace of it can now be left.

Many of our readers who have visited Cuttack and Bhuvanesvara must also have seen the caves in the two hills, Udayagiri and Khandagiri, about twenty miles from Cuttack. There is an inscription on the Hathi Gumpha, or the Elephant Cave, to the effect that it was engraved by Aira, king of Kalinga, who subdued neighbouring kings.

The Ganesa Gumpha and the Rajrani Gumpha are both said to have been excavated before the Christian Era, and a curious story is sculptured on them both. A man sleeps under a tree, and a woman, apparently his wife, introduces a lover. A fight ensues, and the victor carries away the female in his arms.

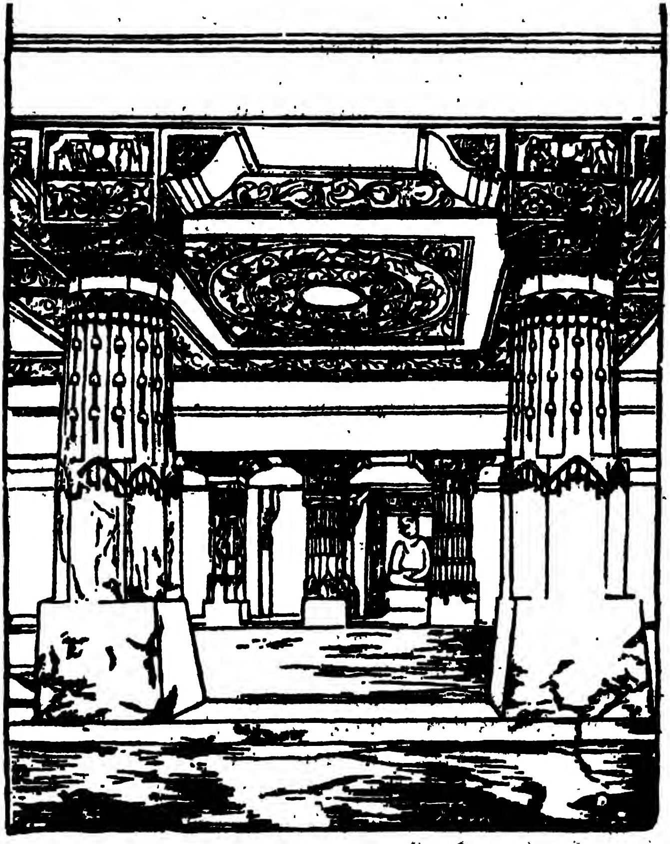
Older than these caves are smaller and simpler ones, among which the Tiger Cave in Udayagiri is the best known.

Turning now to Western India, the Nassik group contains three principal Viharas known under the names of Nahapana, Gautamiputra, and Yaduyasari. The first two are on the same plan, being halls 40 feet square, with sixteen small cells for monks on three sides, and a six-pillared veranda on the fourth side. An inscription in the Nahapana Vihara shows that it was excavated by the son-in-law of that chief, who, we have seen elsewhere, heads the list of Shah kings; and the date of this Vihara is therefore about 100 A.D. The Gautamiputra Vihara is supposed to be two or three centuries later. This Yaduyasri Vihara has a hall 60 feet by 40 feet to 45 feet, and twenty-one cells for monks. It has also a sanctuary with two richly carved pillars and a colossal figure of Buddha with many attendants. The date of this Vihara appears from an inscription to the fifth century.

Perhaps the most interesting Viharas in India are Nos. 16 and 17 of the Ajanta Viharas. They are beautiful specimens of Buddhist monasteries, and possess a unique value, as they still contain fresco paintings with a degree of distinctness unequalled in any other Vihara in India. Their date has been ascertained; they were excavated early in the fifth century, when the Guptas were the emperors of India.

Vihara No. 16 measures 65 feet each way, and has twenty pillars. It has sixteen cells for monks on two sides, a great hall in the centre, a veranda in the front, and a sanctuary in the back. All the walls are

covered with frescoes representing scenes from the life of Buddha or from the legends of saints, and the roofs and pillars have arabesques and ornaments, and all this



AJANTA VIHARA NO. 16.

combines to produce a peculiar richness of effect. Judging from the representations of the frescoes which have been published the painting was by no means contemptible. The figures are natural and elegant, the human

faces are pleasant and expressive, and convey the feelings which they are meant to convey, and the female figures are supple, light, and elegant, and have an air of softness and mild grace which mark them peculiarly Indian in style. The decorations are chaste and correct in style and singularly effective. It is to be hoped that a fairly complete representation of these curious paintings will yet be published for the elucidation of the art of painting in Ancient India; and such a work will be as valuable to the historian of Indian Art as the paintings recovered from Pompeii, and preserved in the Museum of Naples, are valuable to the historian of ancient European Art. Dr. Fergusson, however, apprehends that the means adopted to heighten the colour of the Ajanta paintings in order to copy them, and the "destructive tendencies of British tourists," have already spoilt these invaluable treasures.

Ajanta Vihara No. 17 is similar in plan to No. 16, and is known as the Zodiac cave, because a figure of the Buddhist Chakra or wheel was mistaken for the signs of the Zodiac.

Eight or nine Viharas exist at Bogh, a place about thirty miles west of Mandu. The great Vihara here has a hall 96 feet square and a shala or schoolroom attached to it 94 feet by 44 feet; while a veranda 220 feet in length runs in front of the hall and the shala. 28 pillars beautify the hall, 16 pillars are in the schoolroom, while 20 pillars all in a row adorn the veranda. At one time the whole of the back wall of the gallery was adorned with a series of fresco paintings, equalling the Ajanta paintings in beauty. The principal subjects are processions on horseback and on elephants. Women exceed men in number, and dancing and love-making are prominently introduced.

At Ellora there are numerous Viharas attached to the Visvakarma Chaitya, of which we have spoken before. The great Vihara is 110 feet by 70 feet, and this as well

as the smaller Viharas belong probably to the same century as the Chaitya.

There are three temples here which curiously illustrate the steps by which Buddhistic excavations gradually emerged in the Hindu. The first temple is Do-tal, a two-storeyed Buddhist Vihara, Buddhistic in all its details. The second temple is Teen-tal, similar to the Do-tal, and still having Buddhist sculptures but departing so far from simplicity of style as to justify Brahmans in appropriating it, as they have done! The third is Das Avatar, still resembling the other two in architectural details, but entirely Hindu in sculptures. Later on, when Hinduism had completely triumphed over Buddhism, the Hindus of Southern India excavated in the spot, in the eighth or ninth century A.D., the famous temple of Kailasa, which has made Ellora one of the great wonders of India. But of this and other Hindu edifices we will speak when we come to treat of the Puranic Period. We need only state here that the main distinction between Buddhist works and Hindu works is this; Buddhist Chaityas and Viharas are caves excavated in rocks; while Hindu workers, even when they worked on existing hills and rocks, imitated structural buildings by clearing away the stone on all sides, and thus allowing the edifices carved to stand out in bold relief against the neighbouring rocks. Such is Kailasa in Ellora.

We need not lengthen this chapter by giving an account of Gandhara Viharas. There can be no doubt that Greek influence greatly modified the style of architecture there, and many capitals and figures discovered in the Punjab are distinctly Greek in style. Nor is it possible to include here an account of Ceylonese architecture. There are numerous ruins of ancient topes and other edifices in that island, specially near Anuradhapura, which continued to be the capital of Ceylon for ten centuries. Two of the largest known topes are in Ceylon, one at Abhayagiri, 1100 feet in circumference and 244

feet high; and the other at Jetavana, a few feet higher. The former was erected in 88 B.C., and the latter in 275 A.D.

From the brief account that has been given, our readers will perceive that both in architecture and in sculpture the highest excellence was attained and maintained in India before and immediately after the Christian Era. For the first attempts we must look to the rude caves in Orissa and Behar, with the facades now and then ornamented with rude sculpture of animals. Such, for instance, is the Tiger Cave of Orissa, and we must date this class of caves with the first spread of Buddhism in the fourth century B.C. A great advance was made in the third century B. C., and perhaps the noblest monuments, both in sculpture and in architecture, were constructed between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D. The richly sculptured rails of Bharhut and Sanchi belong to 200 B.C. and 100 A.D. and the finest Chaitya that has been yet discovered, that of Karli, belongs also to the first century after Christ. For the succeeding three or four centuries the art maintained its high position, but scarcely any progress was made, for it is doubtful if a tendency towards elaborate ornamentation is true progress. The Ajanta Viharas and the Amaravati rails, constructed in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., maintained the high position which art had reached in India three or four centuries earlier. Painting, too, of which we cannot discover the first beginnings, attained or maintained its high excellence in the fifth century A.D.

Hinduism, then, inherited from Buddhism the arts of architecture and sculpture. In the earlier Hindu temples of the sixth and seventh centuries, in Orissa and elsewhere, the sculpture is still as chaste and as meritorious as in the Buddhist rails. But it declined in later times.

In the later Hindu temples, the art has lost much of its higher æsthetic qualities, and "frequently resorts

to such expedients as giving dignity to the principal personages, by making them double the size of less important characters, and of distinguishing gods from men by giving them more heads and arms than mortal man can use or understand."

CHAPTER XIV.

CASTE.

From an account of the architecture and sculpture of the Hindus, we will now turn to their social manners and institutions in the Buddhist Age.

We have said before that Buddhism and Hinduism flowed in parallel streams in India during many centuries. Orthodox Hindus, specially of the higher castes, adhered to the Vedic form of religion and to Vedic sacrifices. On the other hand, the number of Buddhist monks and monasteries increased all over the land, and the common people drifted in large numbers to Buddhist ceremonials and the worship of relics and images. There was no open hostility between the two creeds, and except when some unwise and violent monarch signalised his reign by acts of persecution, there was no thought of a rupture between Hindus and Buddhists, who lived in India in friendliness for many centuries, each practising their own form of religious rites.

The numerous extracts we have made from the Buddhist Scriptures in the last Book throw much light on Buddhist life and manners. For a picture of Hindu life and manners during this age, we must go to the Institutes of Manu,—in many respects the most remarkable work of the age.

We have seen before that the laws of Manu in their earlier or Sutra form were prevalent in India, and were much respected by the other Sutrakaras in the Rationalistic Age. Those earlier laws, however, have been lost

to us, and the Institutes of Manu which have now, were completely recast and put in verse in the Buddhist Age. They reflect, therefore, the Hindu manners and customs of the Buddhist Age, and thus form an intermediate link between the earlier Sutra works of the Rationalistic Age and the later Dharma Sutras of the Puranic Age.

The earlier Sutras connect themselves with some particular Vedic school or other. Manu does not connect himself with any such school or particular community, but professes to lay down rules for all Aryan Hindus. Herein Manu differs from the Sutras of the Rationalistic Age.

On the other hand Manu differs still more widely from the later Dharma Sastras of the Puranic Age. These Dharma Sutras proclaim Puranic or Modern Hinduism, and believe in the Hindu Trinity and in the worship of images. Manu does not recognise these modern innovations. He still stands up for Vedic Hinduism and Vedic sacrifices, ignores the later Hindu Trinity, and condemns the worship of images. Thus the position of Manu is singular and unique, and he represents the transition state through which the Hindus passed during the Buddhist Age,—before they completely adopted modern or Puranic Hinduism. Herein consists the importance of Manu's Institutes and the date assigned to the Institutes in their present shape, by Dr. Buhler and other scholars, is the first or second century before or after Christ.

We shall obtain from this valuable work much valuable information about the social manners and laws and rules of administration of the Hindus during the Buddhist Age. In the present chapter our remarks will be confined to the caste-system.

We have seen before, that the ancient Sutrakaras had conceived that the different castes sprang from the union of men and women of different original castes; and Manu unfortunately adopts and hands down the childish myth.

The following is a list of Manu's mixed castes, or, if we may so call it, Manu's theory of the Origin of the Human

Species ! Some begotten by the first three castes on wives of the next lower castes were considered similar to their fathers, and did not form new castes.

Father.	*Mother.*	*Castes formed.*
Brahman.	Vaisya.	Ambashtha.
Do.	Sudra.	Nishada.
Kshatriya	Do.	Urga
Do.	Brahman	Suta
Vaisya	Do.	Vaideha
Vaisya	Kshatriya	Magadha
Sudra	Vaisya	Ayogava
Do.	Kshatriya	Kshattri
Do.	Brahman	Chandala
Brahman	Ugra	Avrita
Do.	Ambashtha	Abhira
Do.	Ayogava	Dhigvana
Nishada	Sudra	Pukkusa
Sudra	Nishada	Kukkutaka
Kshattri	Ugra	Svapaka
Vaidehaka	Ambashtha	Vena
First three castes	by wives of their same caste, but not performing sacred rites	Vratyas.
From Brahman Vratyas	. . . .	Bhrijjakantaka Avantya Vatadhana Pushpadha Saikha
From Kshatriya Vratyas	. . . .	Jhalla Malla Lichchivi Nata Karana Khasa Dravida
From Vaisya Vratyas	. . . .	Sudhanvan Acharya Karusha Vijanman Maitra Satvata

Father.	*Mother.*	*Castes formed.*
Dasyu	Ayogava	Sairindhra
Vaideha	Do.	Maitreyaka
Nishada	Do.	Margava or Dasa or Kaivarta
Do.	Vaideha	Karavara
Vaidehika	Karavara	Andhra
Do	Nishada	Meda
Chandala	Vaideha	Pandusopaka
Nishada	Do.	Ahindika
Chandala	Pukkasa	Sopaka
Chandala	Nishada	Antyavasayin

As if this list of non-Aryan races was not sufficiently long, the great legislator tries to include by a sweeping rule all the known races of the earth! The Paundrakas (North Bengal men), the Udras (Oriyas), the Dravidas (Southern Indians), the Kambojas (Kabulis), the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks), the Sakas (Turanian invaders), the Paradas, the Pahlavas (Persians), the Chinas (Chinese), the Kiratas (hill men), and the Daradas and Khasas are said to have been Kshatriyas before, but to have "gradually sunk in this world to the condition of Sudras," through omission of the sacred rites, and for "not consulting Brahmans" (X, 43 and 44).

On carefully looking over the foregoing list of mixed castes, we find that they include all the aboriginal and foreign races that were known to Manu, but they do not include the profession—castes of the modern day. We find no mention of Kayasthas and Vaidyas and Goldsmiths and Blacksmiths and Vaniks, and Potters and Weavers, and other artisans who form castes in modern times. How have these castes sprung? When did they spring into existence? And shall we believe in the myth of a further permutation and combination among the men and women of Manu's mixed castes in order to account for the existence of the scores of new castes in the modern day?

Again, when we survey the modern Hindu castes, we

do not in many provinces of India find any trace of the ancient Vaisya caste, which formed the mass of the nation in the days of Manu. Where are those Vaisyas gone? When and how did they disappear from most provinces of India? And shall we, consistently with the myth spoken of before, believe that the Vaisyas were so apt to marry women of other castes, and so little fond of their own women, that they continually formed alliances with other castes, until they simply married themselves out of their caste-existence?

The student of Indian history is spared the humiliation of accepting such nursery tales! Common sense will suggest to him that the Vaisyas of Manu have now been disunited into new modern castes according to the professions they follow. Manu knew of goldsmiths and blacksmiths and physicians, and speaks of them, but does not reckon them as separate castes. *They were not castes but professions in Manu's time, and still belonged to the common undivided Vaisya caste.* Scribes and physicians and artisans were still entitled in Manu's time to the privileges of the ancient Aryans, to acquire religious knowledge, to perform religious rites, and to wear the sacrificial thread. However much, then, we may deplore the results of the caste-system, it is important to remember that even in the centuries immediately before and immediately after the Christian Era, the system had not reached its worst stage. Sacred learning had not yet become the monopoly of priests, and honest citizens, who gained a livelihood as scribes, physicians, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, potters, &c., were still Vaisyas, still united as one caste, and still entitled to all the literary and religious heritage of Aryans.

We will illustrate these remarks by a few facts taken from the modern state of Bengal. Bengal proper, *i.e.*, the country in which the Bengali is the spoken tongue (comprising the Presidency, Burdwan, Rajshahi, Dacca, and Chittagong fiscal divisions), has a population about

35½ millions according to the census of 1881. Roughly speaking, 18 millions are Mahommedans, 17 millions are Hindus (including aborigines), and the remaining half-million is made up of Buddhists, Christians, &c.

The castes which make up the 17 million Hindus are numerous; and those which number 200,000 souls or more are shown in the following list:—

1.	Kaivarta	2,006	thousands.	17.	Baniya	318	thousands.
2.	Chandala	1,564	"	18.	Jugi	306	"
3.	Koch	1,215	"	19.	Kamar	286	"
4.	Brahman	1,077	"	20.	Kumar	252	"
5.	Kayastha	1,056	"	21.	Bauri	252	"
6.	Bagdi	720	"	22.	Teor	229	"
7.	Gowala	613	"	23.	Dhobi	227	"
8.	Sadgop	547	"				
9.	Napit	447	"			13,760	"
10.	Vaishnav	439	"		Other castes,		
11.	Chamar	410	"		numbering		
12.	Sunri	383	"		less than		
13.	Teli	383	"		200,000 souls	3,494	"
14.	Jeleya	375	"				"
15.	Tanty	330	"		Total Hindu		
16.	Pod	325	"		population	17,254	"

The two most numerous castes the Kaivarta and the Chandala, find mention in Manu's list of mixed castes. The Kaivartas of Bengal form a solid body of two million people, making nearly one-eighth of the entire Hindu population of Bengal. They have much the same physical features, follow the same pursuits of fishing and agriculture, and possess the same mental characteristics of patience and industry, docility and dulness. Three-fourths of them inhabit the south-western corner of Bengal, *i. e.*, the districts of Midnapur, Hooghly, and Howrah, 24-Pergannahs, Nuddea, and Murshedabad. Is there any one among our readers who is so simple as to believe with Manu that this solid and numerous race of men, possessing the same features and characteristics, and mostly inhabiting one definite part of Bengal, is

descended from children borne by Ayogava women who deserted their own husbands and yielded themselves—by the hundred thousand—to the embraces of Nishadas! Where are the traditions of this strange and universal elopement, this rape of the Ayogava women by Nishadas, compared to which the rape of the Sabine women was but child's play? Common sense brushes aside such nursery tales, and recognises in the millions of hardworking and simple Kaivartas, one of those aboriginal races who inhabited Bengal before the Aryans came to the land, and who submitted themselves to the civilisation, the language, and the religion of the conquering Hindus, and learnt from them to till the land where they had previously lived by fishing and hunting.

Let us next turn to the Chandalas of Bengal. They too form a solid body of people numbering a million and a half, and inhabiting mostly the south-eastern districts of Bengal, Backergunj, Faridpur and Dacca, Jessore and Khulna. They are patient and hard-working, and unrivalled in boating and fishing; and landlords like to have them as tenants for bringing waste and marshy lands under cultivation.* But nevertheless the Chandalas are a soft, timid, and submissive race, and bear without a complaint many wrongs from the sturdier Mussulmans of East Bengal. There is a marked family likeness, both physical and mental, among the Chandalas, which shows them to be one distinct race.

And how was this race formed? Manu has it that they are the issues of Brahman women who yielded themselves to the embraces of Sudras. As the number of Brahmans

* The present writer has often witnessed the curious way in which the Chandalas of some parts of Backergunj District turn *beels* or marshes into solid cultivable lands. They either connect the *beels* with tidal rivers by artificial canals, so as to induce a deposit of silt on the bed of the marshes day by day and year by year: or they collect a kind of weed growing in the marshes, and lay them stratum upon stratum until the lowest stratum reaches the bottom. The present writer has seen houses and trees on lands thus *manufactured*.

in South-Eastern Bengal was never very large in olden times, and does not even in the present day come to even a quarter of a million in the five districts named above, it is difficult to account for the presence of a million Chandalas in those districts on Manu's theory. Shall we suppose that fair-skinned Brahman Desdemonas habitually bestowed their hands on swarthy Sudra swains? Shall we suppose that beauteous but frail Brahman girls were seduced from their parents—by the hundred thousand—by gay Sudra Lotharios intent on creating a new caste? And shall we further suppose that the children begotten of such unions thrived and multiplied in marshes and fishing villages, amidst toil and privations,—more than true-born Brahman children basking in the sunshine of royal favour and priestly privileges? We have only to state such suppositions to show their utter absurdity; and with these suppositions, Manu's theory of mixed castes is brushed aside to the region of myths and nursery tales! Common sense will tell every reader who knows anything of the Chandalas of Bengal that they were the primeval dwellers of South-Eastern Bengal, and lived by fishing in its numerous creeks and channels, and they naturally adopted the religion, the language, and the civilisation of the Hindus when the Aryans came and colonised Bengal.

We have shown that the Kaivartas and the Chandalas were distinct primeval races, and that they formed Hindu castes when they were Hinduised by the conquering Aryans. There are other similar race-castes in Bengal. The reader will find in the list given above the names of the Koch, the Bagdi, the Pod, the Bauri, and the Teor, which are all race-castes. They formed distinct aboriginal races before the Hindus came to Bengal; and from century to century, in the long-forgotten ages, they submitted to the conquering Hindus, adopted their language and religion and mode of tillage, and formed low castes in the Hindu confederation of castes. The names of

many of these Bengali races were unknown to Manu; those which he knew, he tried to account for by his own theory, in the absence of all historical and statistical facts.

Let us now turn from *race-castes* to *profession-castes*. In the list given above, the reader will find mention of the Kayastha or scribe, the Goala or cowherd, the Napit or barber, the Teli or oil-manufacturer, the Jeleya or fisherman, the Tanti or weaver, the Baniya or trader, the Kamar or blacksmith, the Kumar or potter, the Dhobi or washerman, &c. It is remarkable that while some of the race-castes find mention in Manu's list of mixed castes, *not one of the profession-castes finds mention in that list.* Were the professions unknown in Manu's time? Were there no scribes and traders, no blacksmiths and potters, no barbers and washermen in Manu's time? The supposition is absurd for Manu lived at a time of high civilisation in India, and speaks of those professions in his Code. But he does not mention them in his list of mixed castes, and does not speak of them as castes. And this demonstrates with mathematical certainty that the different professions in Manu's time were yet professions only, and had not been formed into distinct and inviolable castes. The Vaisyas were still a united body, and so were the Sudras, although they followed different professions and trades.

We now know the true origin of the profession-castes which were unknown to Manu, and have been formed since. We know also the origin of the race-castes which were formed before Manu's time, and were known to Manu. And lastly, we know how Manu erred in trying to account for these race-castes. Manu's mistake was unavoidable. He saw distinct castes like the Kaivartas and the Chandalas, and did not know their historic origin. The religious traditions of his time traced all mankind from the four parent castes, and he was compelled therefore to stretch the old theory in order to account for

the new castes of his time. All this is intelligible. What is not intelligible is, that the old theory should still find acceptance among some Hindus in these days of statistics and historical inquiry. But the very sanctity of the Institutes disarms historical inquiry, repels careful examination, silences criticism. It is for this reason that the ancient theory of mixed castes has been upheld and accepted and venerated for centuries in the face of all facts and all probabilities. Never questioned, never criticised, never tested by facts, the theory has floated in the imagination and belief of orthodox Hindus, an object of admiration and blind faith. And yet this theory, so symmetrical and comprehensive, so perfect and complete, vanishes like a beauteous soap-bubble into nothingness, the moment it is touched by the finger of criticism.

CHAPTER XV.

SOCIAL LIFE.

MANU's account of domestic rites is based on the accounts of the old Sutrakaras, and the same rites are described. The *Jatakarman* must be performed immediately after the birth of a child, and before the navel-string is cut. On the tenth or twelfth day after birth, or on a lucky day, in a lucky muhurta, under an auspicious constellation, the *Namadheya* rite should be performed, and the child should be named. In the fourth month, the *Nishkramana* should be done, and the child taken out of the house, and in the sixth month the child should have his *Annaprasana* or first meal of rice. The *Upanayana* or initiation should be performed in the eighth year for a Brahman, in the eleventh for a Kshatriya, and in the twelfth for a Vaisya; and then the boy, invested with the holy thread, is to be made over to his instructor.

The rules of the student's life are the same as those laid down in the Dharma Sutras. The student should have a girdle, a staff, and one or two garments; he should be obedient and respectful to his teacher; he should beg from door to door every day, and bring the proceeds to his teacher's house; and he should live there and serve him menially, while receiving instruction from day to day and from year to year. The ceremony of *Kesanta* or shaving was performed for a Brahman in the sixteenth year, for a Kshatriya in the twenty-second, and and for a Vaisya two years later.

The time for learning the three Vedas is thirty-six years,

or eighteen years, or even nine years, or until the student has perfectly learnt them. We are not told of any fourth Veda here (III, 1), nor is any time alloted for learning the Atharvan. And having concluded his studies and bathed, the student became a Snataka, returned home, married and settled down as a householder. The sacred fire was to be lighted at the wedding; and the householder was enjoined to perform his domestic ceremonies and the five great sacrifices all through his life. These great sacrifices were—(1) teaching and studying metaphorically called a sacrifice to the Supreme God (Brahman); (2) offerings of water to the departed fathers; (3) burnt offerings to the minor gods; (4) offerings to spirits; and (5) an ever hospitable reception of guests, described as a sacrifice to men (III, 67 and 70). The last duty was a most important one, and Hindu sages are never tired of impressing on pious Hindus this great duty to their fellow-men.

Apart from the daily offering to departed ancestors, there was the monthly Pinda-Pitriyajna (III, 122), and Pindas or cakes were prepared on this occasion and were offered to the manes. Brahmans were fed at the daily offerings, as well as at the monthly offerings, and Manu is as bitter as the Sutrakaras, against feeding ignorant Brahmans.

"As a husbandman reaps no harvest when he has sown the seed in barren soil, even so the giver of sacrificial food gains no reward if he presented it to a man unacquainted with the Richas" (III, 142).

"As many mouthfuls as an ignorant man swallows at a sacrifice to the gods or to the manes, so many red hot spikes, spears and iron balls must the giver of the repast swallow after death" (III 133).

Elsewhere we are warned against offering even water "to a Brahman who acts like a cat, or like a heron." And it would sound irreverent to modern Hindus if we quoted the words in which Manu indignantly stigmatised

the cat-like and heron-like Brahmans of his day! (IV, 192, 195, 196.).

With regard to sacrifices, we are told that a Brahman should always offer the Agnihotra morning and evening; that he should perform the Darsa and Paurnamasa Ishtis at the new and full moon; that he should do the Chaturmasya sacrifices at the end of the three seasons: that he should perform animal sacrifice at the solstices, and a soma sacrifice at the end of the year. When the new grain was reaped he should perform an Agrayana Ishti and an animal sacrifice (IV, 25–27). The reader is referred to the last Book for an account of these and similar rites as described in the older Sutra works.

All these injunctions to continue the daily, monthly, and periodical rites prescribed in the ancient Sutras, show that Manu sought to perpetuate the old Vedic rites which were fast failing into disuse. Such expressions as "A Brahman who keeps sacred fires" (IV, 27) would indicate that to keep such fires was becoming rather the exception than the rule; and bitter expressions against heretics would indicate that the influence of the Buddhists was telling on the ancient forms and rites. A householder is forbidden to honour, even by greeting, heretics and logicians arguing against the Veda (IV, 30); he is directed to avoid atheism and cavilling at the Veda (IV, 163); and women, who have joined a heretical sect are classed with lewd women, with drunken women, with murderesses of their husbands, and with women who have caused abortion (V, 90).

We shall probably never know exactly in what way and by what degrees the Vedic rites and forms of the Epic and Rationalistic Periods were changed into the forms of modern Hinduism. But we may be quite certain that at the very time at which the Institutes of Manu were compiled, the ancient domestic sacrifices (Grihya) at the householder's hearth, and the more pompous sacrifices (Srauta) performed by priests, were falling in disuse,

and were being supplanted by those very temple priests whom Manu contemptuously classes with sellers of meat and wine, with shopkeepers and usurers (III, 152, 180). The "Institutes are a vain attempt to perpetuate the past against the innovations of the present, and the historian has little difficulty in noting in what direction the tide was turning.

The forms of marriage recounted by Manu are the same that we find in the Dharma Sutras. He enumerates the *Brâhma*, the *Daiva*, the *Arsha*, the *Prajapatya*, the *Asura*, the *Gandharva*, the *Rakshasa*, and the *Paisacha* forms; but his sense of decorum rebels against some of the forms; "the Paisacha (seduction) and the Asura (sale) must never be used" (III, 25). And again we are emphatically told that "No father who knows the law must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; for a man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity is a seller of his offspring" (III, 54). As if to leave no doubt whatever on the subject, we are told that even a Sudra should not take a nuptial fee; and that such a transaction has never been heard of (IX, 98 and 100). But nevertheless a nuptial fee was probably received among the low people in ancient times, as it is done to this day in India, and Manu in one place incautiously lays down a rule, that if one damsel has been shown and another is given to a bridegroom, he may marry both for the same price (VIII, 204).

Similarly Manu is indignant against widow-marriage, which ancient custom was becoming unpalatable to the later Hindus; but he unguardedly informs us of the fact, —and the fact is more valuable to the historian than Manu's opinions,—that widow-marriage still prevailed in his time, although it was not approved by the orthodox. We are told in (V, 157) that a widow must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died, and again that a second husband is nowhere prescribed for virtuous women (V, 162). But nevertheless

we are told of husbands of remarried women (III, 166), and of sons of remarried widows (III, 155 and 181; IX, 169, 175 and 176). Virgin widows were expressly permitted to remarry. Such a widow "is worthy to perform with her second husband the nuptial ceremony" (IX, 176).

Intermarriage, as we have already seen before, was freely allowed, provided that a man of a lower caste did not marry a woman of a higher caste.

Marriage between relations was strictly prohibited in Manu's time. "A damsel who is neither a Sapinda on the mother's side, nor belongs to the same family on the father's side, is recommended to twice-born men for wedlock and conjugal union" (III, 5).

With regard to the age at which girls were married, we should infer from Manu's rules that though girls were sometimes married before they reached their puberty, this was by no means obligatory, and they often married later. We are told that a man of thirty should marry a girl of twelve, and that a younger man should marry girls still younger (X, 94). We are again told that to a distinguished handsome suitor a father should give away his daughter "though she have not attained the proper age." This is laid down as an exception, and the usual rule, therefore, we should infer, was to give away girls at "the proper age." And we are expressly told that a girl when marriageable should wait for three years and then give herself away (IX, 90), and that her father should rather keep unmarried the whole of her life than give her away to a bridegroom who is not suitable (IX, 89).

The ancient custom of raising issue on a brother's widow seems to have fallen into disuse. Manu, in his anxiety to adhere to ancient rule, and also to proclaim a purer custom, seems to flatly contradict himself. In IX, 59 and 60, he says that on failure of issue by her husband, a wife or widow who has been authorised may obtain the desired offspring by a brother-in-law, or by

some other Sapinda of the husband. But shortly after he emphatically declares that a widow must never be appointed to raise issue in this way; that in the sacred texts the appointment of widows is nowhere mentioned; that the practice is reprehended by the learned as fit for cattle (IX, 64 to 68). This is pretty strong language, and shows how utterly the somewhat primitive custom was condemned at the time of Manu.

It will be seen, from what has been stated above, that the Institutes of Manu are somewhat composite in their character. The author tries to adhere to ancient law, often quotes the current sayings and verses of his time,—many of which have been found in the Mahabharata,—and at the same time he is anxious to proclaim a pure law for the Aryans. Actuated by such different influences, Manu is sometimes uncertain in the rules he lays down; but the general scope and object of his law cannot be mistaken by the candid reader. And if such a reader carefully peruses all the chapters and verses in the Code bearing on the position of women, he will, in spite of some objectionable passages, certainly form a high idea the status of women, and of the Hindu civilisation and manners of Manu's times.

Women were regarded as dependent on their male relations;—this Manu emphatically declares. But nevertheless women were honoured in their families respected by their relations, and held in esteem by the society in which they lived. And this will appear not only from the rules of Manu, but from the general tone of all Sanscrit literature.

"The Acharya (teacher) is ten times more venerable than the Upadyaya (sub-teacher), the father a hundred times more than the teacher, but the mother a thousand times more than the father (II, 145).

"Women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire their own welfare.

"Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields reward.

"Where female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes; but that family where they are not unhappy, ever prospers" (III, 55—57).

On the other hand, we have as clear an enunciation of women's duties.

"In childhood a female must be subject to her father; in youth to her husband; when her lord is dead, to her sons; a woman must never be independent.

"She must not seek to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons. By leaving them she would make both her own and her husband's family contemptible.

"She must always be cheerful, clever in the management of her household affairs, careful in cleaning her utensils, and economical expenditure.

"Him to whom her father may give her, or her brother, with her father's permission, she shall obey as long as she lives, and when he is dead, she must not insult his memory.

"Though destitute of virtue, or seeking pleasure or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife.

"No sacrifice, no vow, no fast, must be performed by women apart from their husbands; if a wife obeys her husband, she will for that reason along be exalted in heaven" (V, 148—151, and 154, 155).

CHAPTER XVI.

ADMINISTRATION.

MANU gives us a very interesting picture of the daily duties and the private life of kings.

To protect his subjects, to deal impartial justice, and to punish the wrong-doer were the essential duties of a king, and the very existence of society depended on the performance of these duties (VII, 2, 16—35). Drinking, dice, women and hunting were the most pernicious faults of kings (VII, 50).

The king rose in the last watch of the night, and having performed personal purification, and offered oblations to the fire, he entered the hall of audience in the morning. There he gratified all subjects who came to see him, and having dismissed them, he took counsel with the ministers in a lonely place, unobserved by the public (VII. 145—147). When the consultation was over, the king took his customary exercise, bathed, and entered the inner apartments in order to take his meals. The food was prepared by faithful servants hallowed by sacred texts that destroyed poison, and well tried females served him with fans, water, and perfumes. The carefulness which is enjoined in the matter of food, is enjoined also in respect of the king's carriages, bed, seat, bath, toilet, and ornaments, and shows that the risk of death by poison or treachery was guarded against in the ordinary arrangements in a king's household (VII, 216—220).

After taking his meals, the king passed some time with his wives in the inner apartments; but in the afternoon

he issued again in his robes of state and inspected his fighting men, his chariots, animals, weapons, and accoutrements. And then, having performed his twilight devotions, he gave audience to his secret spies, and heard secret reports collected for his information. After this he entered his inner apartments again and had his supper. Then, after refreshing himself by the sound of music, he retired to rest (VII, 221—225).

The king was, of course, assisted in his work of administration by his ministers,—seven or eight ministers according to Manu,—versed in sciences, skilled in the use of weapons, and descended from noble and well-tried families. Such ministers advised the king in matters of peace and war, revenue, and religious gifts. The king also employed suitable persons for the collection of revenue, and in mines, manufactories, and storehouses; and he employed an ambassador "who understands hints, and the expression of the face and gestures," for carrying on negotiations (VII, 54—63).

For the protection of villages and towns separate officers were appointed. The king appointed a lord over each village, lords of ten villages, lords of twenty villages, lords of a hundred villages, and lords of a thousand villages, and it was their duty to check crime and protect the villagers. Similarly each town had its superintendent of all affairs, who personally inspected the work of all officials, and got secret information about their behaviour. "For the servants of the king who are appointed to protect the people generally become knaves who seize the property of others; let him protect his subjects against such men" (VII, 115—123). This is a bitter invective against the rapacity of officers; but few administrative officers of the present day will consider the invective too strong for the modern protectors of the people,—the police officers,—each entrusted with the charge of an extensive Thana with a population of fifty to a hundred thousand or more!

The income of the state from the royal demesnes was supplemented by taxes. Manu fixes the taxes at "a fiftieth part of the increments on cattle and gold," which corresponds to an income-tax of two per cent., and "the eighth, sixth, or twelfth part of the crops," which represents a land revenue much lower than modern assessments. The king might also take a sixth part of trees, meat, butter, earthen vessels, stoneware, &c., and might exact a day's service in each month from artisans, mechanics, and Sudras living by manual labour. But he should on no account tax Srotriyas. And lastly, kings are warned against excessive taxation, "Let him not cut up his own root nor the root of others, by excessive greed. For by cutting up his own root or theirs, he makes himself or them wretched" (VII, 130—139).

All these and other rules about administration and taxation show that a fairly advance system of Government prevailed in India between fifteen hundred and two thousand years ago. And the testimony of Chinese and Greek writers who lived in the country proves that the ideas were not merely worked out by theorists and bookmakers, but were carried into practice by kings and their responsible officials. Megasthenes speaks in the highest terms of the Government of Chandragupta; and Fa Hian and Houen Tsang, who lived many years in India, and visited many kingdoms, also speak highly of Hindu administration, and do not cite one single instance of a people being ground down by taxes or harassed by the arbitrary and oppressive acts of kings, or ruined by internecine wars. On the contrary, the picture which they present to us is that of a happy and prosperous group of nations, loyal and well-disposed to their kings, enjoying the fruits of a benign and mild and civilised administration. Agriculture flourished everywhere; the arts were cultivated; learning was respected and cultivated with great assiduity by Hindus and Buddhists alike; religion was taught and preached from temples and monasteries without let or

hindrance; and the people were left to their own pursuits without oppressive interference. These results are a truer indication of a beneficent administration than any rules, however just and humane, which we may find recorded in law books.

Fortresses were highly esteemed for the purposes of defence, and Manu declares that "one bowman placed on a rampart is a match in battle for one hundred foes" (VII, 74). He directs that a king should always build for his safety a fortress, protected by a desert, or water, or trees, or by earthworks, or by armed men; but he gives his preference to hill forts, which are the strongest of all forts. And such forts should be well supplied with weapons, money, grain, and beasts of burden; with Brahmans, artisans, engines, fodder, and with water (VII, 70, 71, 75). The value of such hill forts has repeatedly been proved in the history of modern Indian warfare, and the enemy has often wasted a campaign in a futile attack against a single fort, sufficiently provided with provisions and water, with natural defences and brave men.

The laws of war have always been honourable and humane among the Hindus. Chariots and horses and elephants, grain, cattle, and women conquered in battle are the prize of the conqueror; but he is strictly enjoined not to strike the flying foe, nor one who joins his hands in supplication or sits down and says, "I am thine." Similarly, no violence should be used against disarmed or wounded men, or men who were merely looking on without joining in the fight (VII, 91, 92, 93, 96). These rules have been scrupulously observed from the ancient times to the days of modern Rajput warfare, and foreigners have noted peaceful villagers following their daily occupations, and husbandmen ploughing their fields without concern, while hostile armies were contending within sight for the destinies of kingdoms and nations.

A great many rules have been laid down about the policy of kings and the conduct of war, some of which

are interesting. The king was to consider his immediate neighbour his foe and the next king beyond to be his friend, a rule which finds apt illustration in the Continent of Europe in the present day,—in the policies of France, Germany, and Russia (VII, 158). The tall men of the Doab formed then, as now, the best soldiers in India, and kings were recommended to engage such men, the Matsyas, the Panchalas, and the men of Kurukshetra and Surasena as soldiers, and to keep them in the van of the battle (VII, 193). The commencement or end of the cold season was said to be the proper season for marching troops, but movements should be commenced at any time according to the exigencies of the war (VII, 182, 183). We get curious glimpses here and there into the rules which were observed in arranging troops in a march or a battle. In a march the troops were to be arranged like a staff (oblong), or like a waggon (wedge), or like a boar (rhombus), or like a makara (two triangles with the apices joined), or like a pin (long line), or like a Garuda (rhomboid with extended wings). In a battle a small number of soldiers might fight in close order, or the army might be extended in loose ranks; a small number could fight in the needle array, or a large number in the thunderbolt array (VII, 187, 191). When the enemy is shut up in a town or fort, the assailant should encamp outside and spoil the enemy's grass, food, fuel, and water; destroy his tanks, ramparts, and ditches; assail him unawares at night, or instigate rebellion among his subjects and followers (VII, 195—197).

And when a king has conquered his enemy he is directed to place a relation of the vanquished ruler on the throne, after consulting the wishes of the conquered people, and to respect the local customs and laws of the vanquished (VII, 202, 203). These are just and humane rules, worthy of Hindu conquerors.

CHAPTER XVII.

LAWS.

THE Institutes of Manu are divided into twelve books, comprising 2685 couplets. The two longest books (VIII and IX), comprising 736 couplets, are devoted to civil and criminal law. Much that we find in these laws is a repetition or a modification of the laws laid down by the ancient Sutrakaras.

The king was the fountain of justice in Ancient India, and Manu directs that the king should, with learned Brahmans and experienced councillors, enter the Court of Justice and perform judical work, Should, however, the king not do the work himself, he should appoint learned Brahmans to perform it with the help of three assessors. "Where three Brahmans versed in the Vedas and the learned judge appointed by the king sit down, they call that the Court of Brahma" (VIII, 1, 2, 9, 10, 11).

The injunctions to speak the truth are as solemn and strict as those provided in any age or country.

"Either the court must not be entered, or the truth must be spoken; a man who either says nothing (*i.e.*, conceals facts) or speaks falsely becomes sinful" (VIII, 13).

"The witnesses being assembled in the court in the presence of the plaintiff and of the defendant, let the judge examine them, kindly exhorting them, in the following manner:—

"When ye know to have been naturally transacted in this matter between the two men before us, declare all that in accordance with the truth; for ye are witnesses in this cause.

"'A witness who speaks the truth in his evidence gains after death the most excellent regions of bliss, and here below unsurpassable fame; such testimony is revered by Brahman himself.

"'He who gives false evidence is firmly bound by Varuna's fetters, helpless, during one hundred existences. Let men give true evidence.

"'By truthfulness a witness is purified, through truthfulness his merit grows; truth must therefore be spoken by witnesses of all castes.

"'The soul itself is the witness of the soul; the soul is the refuge of the soul; despise not thy own soul, the supreme witness of men.

"'The wicked indeed say in their hearts, Nobody sees us. But the gods distinctly see them, and the male within their own breasts.

"'The sky, the earth, the waters, the heart, the moon the sun, the fire, Yama and the wind, the night, the two twilights, and justice know the conduct of all corporal beings'" (VIII, 79—86).

Still more solemn are the injunctions given further on:—

"Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy.

"Headlong, in utter darkness, shall the sinful man tumble into hell, who, being interrogated in a judical inquiry, answer one question falsely" (VIII, 93, 94).

And it is provided in VIII, 123, that the king should banish all witnesses who give false evidence.

A somewhat long list is given of persons who were not competent witnesses, and persons who were exempted from being witnesses. Interested persons, friends and enemies of parties, persons previously convicted of perjury, and men tainted with sin were not competent as witnesses; while a king, a Srotriya, and a student of the Veda, as well as machanics and actors, were exempted. But it is quite clear that these rules were not meant to be

strictly applied, and we are told further on that in cases of violence, theft, adultery, defamation, and assault, *i.e.* in criminal cases, the rule about the competency of witnesses should not be strictly applied (VIII, 64, 65, 72).

Manu divides the whole body of substantive law under 18 heads, viz., (1) Debts, (2) Deposits, (3) Sale without ownership, (4) Partnership, (5) Resumption of gifts, (6) Non-payment of wages, (7) Non-performance of agreements, (8) Rescission of sale and purchase, (9) Disputes between masters and servants, (10) Disputes about boundaries, (11) Assault, (12) Defamation, (13) Theft, (14) Robbery and violence, (15) Adultery, (16) Duties of husband and wife, (17) Inheritance, and (18) Gambling and betting. It will be seen that heads (11) to (15) and the last head relate to criminal law, and the other heads relate to civil cases. We will, however, follow the order in which Manu has arranged the subjects, and our remarks under each head will be necessarily exceedingly brief.

(1) DEBTS. Under this head Manu gives us a list of the weights in use in his time. It begins, of course, with the theoretically smallest weight, Trasarenu, the mote which can be seen when the sun shines through a lattice.

8 Trasarenu	... 1 Liksha (egg of a louse).
3 Liksha	... 1 Black mustard grain.
3 Black mustard grain ...	... 1 White mustard seed.
6 White mustard seed	1 Barleycorn.
3 Barleycorn	1 Krishmala or Raktika.
5 Krishmala...	1 Masha (bean).
16 Masha ...	1 Suvarna.
4 Suvarna ...	1 Pala.
10 Pala ...	1 Dharana.

2 Krishmala of silver ...	... 1 Mashaka (silver.)
16 Mashaka	... 1 Dharana (silver.)
1 Karsha of copper ...	... 1 Karshapana or Pana.

10 Dharana (silver) ...	... 1 Satamana.

4 Suvarna ...	... 1 Nishka (VIII, 132-137).

With regard to interest on loans, Manu quotes from Vasishtha's Dharma-Sutra, and says that "a money-lender may stipulate, as an increase of his capital, for the interest allowed by Vasishtha, and take monthly the eightieth part of a hundred." This comes to 15 per cent. per annum, and was the interest on security; but for unsecured loans the interest was 24 per cent., 36 per cent., 48, or 60 per cent., according as the borrower was a Brahman, a Kshatriya, a Vaisya, or a Sudra (VIII, 140-142). It is needless to say that this graduated scale is only theoretical—a money-lender looked more to the competence of the borrower than to his caste.

It appears that female slaves could be pledged, like other property, by persons borrowing money (VIII, 149). When the property pledged was one from which profit accrued (like land), no interest could be charged (VIII, 143). Sixty per cent. was the very highest rate of interest which could be recovered (VIII, 152); but special rates were allowed in the case of merchants going on sea voyages, probably to cover the insurance on risks (VIII, 157). And lastly, we are told that contracts made under intoxication, or contrary to law and usage, or fraudulently, or by force, were void (VIII, 163—165).

(2) Deposits. A person with whom an open or sealed deposit was made, was compelled under the law to restore it, except when the deposit was stolen by thieves, washed away by water, or burnt down by fire. It would appear that fraudulent demands of things never deposited, and fraudulent refusal to return deposits were by no means unknown, and in both cases the guilty persons were punished as thieves, (VIII, 198).

(1) Sale without Ownership. Such sales were to be considered null and void, and the seller, if a kinsman of the real owner, to be fined 600 panas,—and if not a kinsman, he was to be treated as a thief (VIII, 198, 199).

(4) Partnership. It appears that disputes often

arose among priests who performed a religious rite in common, and could not agree in sharing the fee or reward. Manu decides that the Adhvaryu should take a chariot, the Brahman a horse, the Hotri also a horse, and the Udgatri a cart. And on this principle, says the legislator, should shares be alloted among all men working conjointly. The principle, which is somewhat obscure, is the natural one that each man is to be paid according to the amount and nature of his work (VIII, 209—211).

(5) Resumption of Gifts. A gift made for a pious purpose could be revoked if the money was not used for the purpose for which it was given (VIII, 212).

(6) Non-payment of Wages. The law is very simple, viz., that a workman was not to be paid unless he did his work completely, according to agreement (VIII, 217).

(7) Non-performance of Agreements. The breaking of an agreement after swearing to it was very severely punished; the offender was to be banished, imprisoned, and fined six nishkas of four suvarnas each, and one satamana of silver (VIII, 219, 220).

(8) Rescission of Sale and Purchase. There is a most remarkable rule that a purchaser or a seller, if he repented of his bargain, might return or take back the chattel within ten days. Commentators add that this rule applied only to things not easily spoilt, like land, copper, &c. (VIII, 222).

(9) Disputes between Owners of Cattle and Servants. Frequent cases probably arose between owners and keepers of cattle, and the law on the subject has been somewhat minutely laid down. The responsibility for the safety of the cattle was with the herdsman during the day, and with the owner during the night, *i.e.*, if the cattle were in his house by night; and the hired herdsman could in the absence of other wages take the milk of one cow in ten. He was responsible for all animals lost by his negligence. Thus, if sheep and

goats were attacked by a wolf, and the herdsman did not try to save them, he was responsible for the loss. There was a healthy rule of keeping pasture lands round every village and every town, which has, unfortunately, disappeared in these days. On all sides of a village, lands to the width of 100 dhanus were to be kept for pasture, and thrice that space was to be reserved round towns. If cattle did any damage to any unfenced crops on that common, the herdsman was not responsible. Fields situated away from the common were not fenced, and if cattle strayed there and did damage to crops, a fine was imposed of one pana and a quarter per head of cattle, and the actual damage done had also to be made good (VIII, 230—241).

(10) DISPUTES ABOUT BOUNDARIES. We have a curious glimpse into the state of villages and culture in the laws on this subject. The month of Jaishtha (May—June) is the driest in the year in India, and it is laid down that all disputes regarding boundaries of contiguous villages should be decided in that month. Such boundaries were generally marked by an Asvathva, Kinsuka, or other tree, by tanks, wells, cisterns, and fountains. Hidden marks were to be left to determine boundaries, and stones, bones, pebbles, &c., were to be buried where such boundaries met.

When a boundary question could not be decided on the existing landmarks, the villagers were to be examined, and on failure of villages, hunters, fowlers, herdsmen, fishermen, root diggers, snake catchers, gleaners, and foresters could be examined. If all these resources failed, the king was directed to generously make good out of his own demesnes any possible loss to either of the contending villages (VIII, 245-265).

(11) and (12) ASSAULT AND DEFAMATION. We now come to Criminal Law properly so called, and there we meet once more the influence of that baneful system which has cast its shadow over every phase of Hindu

civilisation and life. A Brahman should be fined 50 panas for defaming a Kshatriya, 25 panas for defaming a Vaisya, and 12 panas for defaming a Sudra, but a Sudra who defamed a Brahman should have his tongue cut out, "for he is of low origin." And if he mentioned the names and castes of the twice-born with contumely, an iron nail ten figures long should be thrust red-hot into his mouth (VIII, 268—271). It must not be supposed that the actual administration of the law was ever so barbarous, or that even Brahman judges ever disgraced themselves by inflicting such monstrous punishments on Sudras who had in a moment of anger used harsh words towards Brahmans. Brahmans have painted themselves much worse than they really were; and the administration of the law, sufficiently cruel towards the poor Sudra as it undoubtedly was, was never so barbarous as it is said to have been. "With whatever limb a man of low castes does hurt to a man of the highest castes, even that limb shall be cut off:—that is the teaching of Manu" (VIII, 279). But with due deference to Manu, we may be permitted to doubt if his countrymen ever disgraced themselves by following this teaching!

The ordinary punishment for defaming was 12 panas (VIII, 269), and for causing hurt so as to cut the skin, 100 panas. If a muscle was cut, 6 nishkas was the fine, and if a bone was broken, the offender was banished (VIII, 284).

For causing damage, a fine equal to the damage was levied, but if the property was of inferior value, five times the damage was levied (VIII, 288, 289).

(13) and (14) THEFT AND ROBBERY. The utmost precautions were taken to punish thieves, for if the king "punishes thieves, his fame grows and his kingdom prospers" (VIII, 302). And the king who does not afford protection to property and yet takes his leases, tolls, and fines, "will soon sink into hell" (VIII, 307).

Thefts were punished with various fines, or with

corporal punishment, or with the amputation of the hand. When theft was committed in presence of the owner (*i.e.*, with violence), it was called robbery (VIII, 319-332). The use of violence was considered a most serious offence; but the right of private defence was granted when a man was attacked by assassins and in other cases (VIII, 345—350).

(15) ADULTERY. This offence was always looked upon with the greatest detestation in India, and an adulterer, if he was not a Brahman, was to be punished with death, "for the wives of all the four castes must always be carefully guarded" (VIII, 359). Violating an unwilling maiden was punishable with corporal punishment, or with the amputation of two fingers and a fine of 600 panas (VIII, 364, 367). We have still more terrible punishments provided for; a woman seducing another was to be lashed and fined, an adulteress was to be devoured by dogs, and an adulterer was to be burnt to death (VIII, 369, 371, 372). It is doubtful, however, if such sentences as the above were ever carried out.

Less cruel punishments are provided for further down. For a Sudra committing adultery with a twice-born woman, amputation was the punishment. For a Vaisya and a Kshatriya committing the offence with a Brahman, imprisonment or heavy fines were provided. For a Brahman committing the offence with a woman of the same caste a heavy fine was imposed (VIII, 374-378). A Brahman was on no account to be punished with death, "though he have committed all possible crimes." "No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahman" (VIII, 380, 381).

At the conclusion of the sections on Criminal Law, Manu has some miscellaneous provisions. A sacrificer forsaking his priest, or priest forsaking his sacrificer, a son forsaking his parents, a Brahman not asking his neighbours to invitation, and a Srotriya not entertaining other Srotriyas, were all punishable with fines. There

are provisions for the punishment of dishonest washermen and weavers. The king could impose an *ad valorem* tax of five per cent. on the sale of all merchandise. He could keep a monopoly of certain articles in his hands, and punish those who traded on those articles. He levied customs and tolls. And it is even said that he was to fix the price of all marketable goods; but this of course was never attempted by any ruler. The king was also to settle all weights and measures, fix ferry charges, direct Vaisyas to trade, to lend money, or to cultivate the land, and make the Sudra to serve the twice-born castes.

Slaves are said to be of seven kinds, viz., captives of war, those serving for daily food, slaves born as such in the house, slaves bought or given by others, slaves inherited, and men enslaved by way of punishment (VIII, 388—415).

(16) HUSBAND AND WIFE. Manu begins this subject with insisting on the dependence of women on men, and with certain sayings about women, which may have been considered witty at the time, but which are unworthy of Manu's pages. For, as we have seen before, Manu assigns on the whole a high and respected position to women.

We have seen before how Manu contradicts himself on the ancient custom of raising issue on a widow, and there can be no doubt that public opinion was against such custom after the Christian Era. We have also seen how widow marriage was becoming unpopular, though it was no doubt still prevalent in Manu's time. The marriage of a virgin widow is, however, expressly permitted (IX, 69). Again, Manu quotes the ancient rule that a wife should wait for her husband eight years, if he went on sacred duty, six years if he went for learning or fame, and three years if he went for pleasure. One commentator states that she was to marry again after that period, and that is the obvious meaning of the old rule.

A wife must not show aversion to a drunken husband, but may show aversion to mad husband or an outcast, or one "afflicted with such diseases as punish crimes." A drunken, rebellious, or diseased wife might be superseded, and so also a barren wife, or one who bore female children only (IX, 78—81). But this superseding does not mean absolute desertion; but the wife must still be kept in the house, and maintained (IX, 83).

"Let mutual fidelity continue until death."—This is the highest law for husband and wife (IX, 101).

(17) INHERITANCE. The important subject of Inheritance is treated in over a hundred sections (IX, 104—220), but it is not necessary for our purposes that we should go into the law on the subject in detail. After the death of the father and mother, the brothers might equally divide the estate among themselves (IX, 104), or the joint-family system might be continued under the eldest brother, who would under those circumstances take the management of the whole estate (IX, 105). But the separation of brothers is not condemned; on the contrary, it is recommended and called meritorious (IX, 111). To the eldest and youngest sons additional shares were allotted in the division of property (IX, 112—117). To maiden sisters each brother should pay out of his share one-fourth (IX, 118), but this is supposed by commentators to mean that brothers must provide for the dowry of their unmarried sisters. In IX, 120, 146, &c., we have a provision for the son begotten on the wife or widow of an elder brother by a younger brother, although Manu has elsewhere condemned such practice. Again, a person who had no sons might make his daughter an "appointed daughter," saying to her husband, "the male child born of her shall perform my funeral rites." And when this was done, there was no distinction between a son's son and an appointed daughter's son (IX, 127, 133). IX, 141 and 142 sanction adoption.

As usual, Manu repeats the old rules laid down by

Sutrakaras about the twelve different kinds of sons, although, in accordance with the public opinion of his own time, Manu calls the last eleven of these to be "bad substitutes for a real son" (IX, 161). The twelve kinds of sons are—*Aurasa*, or son begotten on the wedded wife; *Kshetraja*, son begotten on the wife of a diseased man or the widow of a diseased; *Datrima*, son adopted; *Kritrima*, a son made such; *Gudhotpanna*, a son secretly born, his father being not known, he must be supposed to be the son of his mother's husband; *Apaviddha*, a son received as such after desertion by his natural parents; *Kanina*, son of an unmarried damsel, who must be considered the son of him who marries the damsel afterwards; *Sahodha*, son of the woman who is married when she is pregnant; *Kritaka*, a son bought; *Paunarbhava*, son of a remarried widow; *Svayamdatta*, an orphan who gives himself up as the son of another; and *Parasava*, a son begotten by a Brahman on a Sudra female (IX, 167—168).

Of these twelve kinds of sons, the first six are kinsmen and heirs, the last six only kinsmen (IX, 158). And among these different kinds of sons, on failure of each better son, each next inferior is worthy of inheritance (IX, 184). Failing children, father, and brothers, a man's property will go to the nearest relative within three degrees: failing such, a Sakulya, or next the spiritual teacher or pupil, or lastly to Brahmans (IX, 187, 188).

Stridhana, or the exclusive property of females, is defined to be what is given before the nuptial fire, or in the bridal procession, or by the husband as token of love, or by brother, mother, or father (IX, 194).

"When the mother has died, all the uterine brothers and sisters shall equally divide the mother's estate (IX 192).

(18) GAMBLING AND BETTING, &c. "These two vices cause the destruction of the kingdoms of princes," and kings are therefore recommended to exclude them from

their realms. Corporal punishment is enjoined for the offence (IX, 224), and banishment is also provided for them, as well as for dancers, singers, and men of a heretical sect, *i.e.* Buddhists! (IX, 225).

Death is provided for forgers of royal edicts, for bribing ministers, for slaying women, infants, and Brahmans, and for treason (IX, 232). Branding on the forehead is provided for violating a guru's bed, for drinking sura (wine), and for stealing a Brahman's gold or killing a Brahman (IX, 237.) A thief caught with stolen property and the implements of burglary, as well as those who gave shelter to thieves, might be slain (IX, 270, 271). Robbers, housebreakers, cut-purses, and others might have their hands or two fingers cut off (IX, 276, 277).

Death or severe punishment is provided for destroying dams of tanks (IX, 279), and fine is provided for physicians treating their patients wrongly! (IX, 284). Various punishments are provided for the adultertaion of commodities, for mischief of different kinds, for cheating in the sale of seed corn, for the dishonesty of goldsmiths, and for the theft of agricultural instruments (IX, 258-293).

Besides the two chapters on law, Manu has a separate chapter on Penances, &c., for sins committed, and a very few remarks will indicate what were considered the greatest sins.

PENANCES. Here, again, we find that "killing a Brahman, drinking the liquor called sura, stealing the gold of a Brahman, adultery with a guru's wife, and association with men who have committed these offences are the gravest moral sins, the *Mahapatakas*" (XI, 55). The reader will find that they are identically the same as the *Mahapatakas* enumerated before by Vasishtha. There are other offences which are said to be equal to these in enormity, among which we note giving false evidence, incest, and the defilement of maidens, desertion of one's parents, and neglecting the Veda.

Less heinous than the *Mahapatakas* are the *Upapatakas*, among which we find the neglecting of the domestic fire, slaying kine, theft, non-payment of debts, living as a Vratya,—and lastly, and curiously enough,—"superintending mines or factories and executing great mechanical works," which, according to commentators, means constructing dams or making great machines like sugar mills and the like (IX, 60, 79). The caste-system in India had the baneful result of degrading arts and industries and all men engaged in them; but it is with regret and pain that a Hindu writer notes that mechanical works were actually classed with sins.

The date of Manu's Institutes has formed the subject of much controversy since the time of Sir William Jones; but it is now generally admitted that the compilation now extant was framed within a century or two before or after the Christian era. It speaks (X, 44) of the Yavanas, the Chinas, the Sakas, and the Kambojas, and this passage sufficiently indicates its date. The work, as we have stated before, stands half way between the ancient Sutras of India, on which it is based, and the later Dharma Sastras of the Puranic Period, of which we will speak in the next Book. Unlike the former, it belongs to no particular Vedic school, but is the law for all Aryans. And unlike the latter, Manu does not yet know of the Hindu Trinity or the Puranic mythology, ignores the worship of images, despises temples and temple priests, and still proclaims Vedic rites and sacrifices.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ASTRONOMY AND LEARNING.

We have in the preceding pages dwelt on the history and political condition of the Hindus, their arts and architecture, their social life and laws during the Buddhist Period. It remains now to say a few words about their learning and progress in knowledge during that age. Unfortunately, our materials are very poor,—poorer perhaps than those for any other period of ancient Hindu history.

Nor are the reasons far to seek. For five or six centuries India was the scene of foreign invasions and wars, and literature and science could not have a healthy and natural growth. Much of what was achieved was also under Buddhist influences, and bore the mark of Buddhism, and later Hindu writers have not been careful in preserving such records. And lastly, scientific works composed in this period have been replaced to a great extent by the more exhaustive works of the Puranic Period which followed. For all these reasons, the literary and scientific remains of the Buddhist Period are scanty indeed.

Nevertheless, intellectual pursuits were never given up in India, and there was no such thing as a "literary interregnum" in Hindu history. And traces of what was done in the Buddhist age are still left to us.

We have spoken of the six schools of Hindu Philosophy in our account of the Rationalistic Period; but it should be remembered that some of them, viz., the Yoga of Patanjali and the Vedanta of Badarayana Vyasa, were started in the Buddhist Age, and all the six schools were considerably developed in this age. Patanjali was again

the writer of the celebrated Mahabhasya or Great Commentary on Panini,—a monument of the grammatical culture of the Buddhist Period.

In religious literature, the Code of Manu belongs to the Buddhist Age, while much of the large mass of Buddhist theology was composed in this age, in the universities of Nalanda and elsewhere. In poetry, little is left to us that clearly belongs to this period; but nevertheless the earliest beginnings of later or classic Sanscrit poetry date from this age. We know from the inscriptions of the Gupta kings, that graceful and flowing versification was appreciated. Poetry was honoured by kings in courts, and Samudragupta, the greatest of the Gupta kings, who reigned towards the close of the fourth century, was himself a poet, and received the title of Kaviraja from his court poets.

But it was in astronomy that the most brilliant results were achieved in the Buddhist Age. We have seen before that astronomical observations were made as early as the Vedic Age; and that early in the Epic Age the lunar zodiac was fixed, the position of the solstitial points marked, and other phenomena carefully observed and noted. No separate astronomical works however of these ages, or even of the Rationalistic Age, have come down to us. The oldest astronomical works of which we know anything, or which have come down to us, belong to the Buddhist Period.

Hindu writers speak of eighteen ancient Siddhantas or astronomical works, but they are now mostly lost. They are named below:—

1. Parasara Siddhanta.		10. Marichi Siddhanta.	
2. Garga	"	11. Manu	"
3. Brahma	"	12. Angiras	"
4. Surya	"	13. Romaka	"
5. Vyasa	"	14. Pulisa	"
6. Vasishtha	"	15. Chyavana	"
7. Atri	"	16. Yavana	"
8. Kasyapa	"	17. Bhrigu	"
9. Narada	"	18. Saunaka or Suma	"

A few remarks about some of these Siddhantas will throw some light on the pursuit of the science in the Buddhist Age; and we will premise that the Hindus received much of their astronomical knowledge of this age from the Greeks, who cultivated the science with great success.

Parasara, says Professor Weber, is considered to be the most ancient of Hindu astronomers, and the second in order of time is Garga. Of Parasara we know next to nothing, except that his name is connected with the Veda Calendar. The work which professes to contain Parasara's teachings is called the Parasara Tantra. It was held in the high esteem in the Puranic Period, and Varahamihira often quotes from it. "To judge from very numerous quotations, the greater part, at least a large part of it, is written in prose, a striking peculiarity among the works of its class. A pretty large part is in Anushtubha, and it contains also Aryas. Interesting for the geography of India is an entire chapter which Varahamihira, only changing the form, but leaving the matter almost intact, has given in the fourteenth chapter of the Brihat Sanhita."* As the Yavanas or Greeks are placed by Parasara in Western India, the date of the work cannot be much earlier than the second century B.C.

Of Garga we know something more, and he is one of the few Hindu writers who tell us something of the Greek invasion of India of the second century B.C. He could feel respect for learned men among the Greeks,—although they were considered Mlechchhas,—and the following passage of his is well known and often quoted; "The Yavanas (Greeks) are Mlechchhas, but amongst them this science (astrology) is well established. Therefore they are honoured as Rishis,—how much more than an astrologer who is a Brahman."

In the historical portion of his work Garga speaks of the four Yugas, the third ending and the fourth

* Kern, *Brihat Sanhita*, Preface, p. 32.

beginning with the war of the Mahabharata. Further on we are told of the Sisunaga dynasty of Magadha, and then of the Maurya kings. Speaking of Salisuka (whom we know to be the fourth in succession from Asoka the Great), Garga says: "Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Saketa (Oude), the Panchala country, and Mathura, will reach Kusumadhvaja (Patna); Pushpapura (Patna) being taken, all provinces will undoubtedly be in disorder."

So rarely do Sanscrit writers furnish us with historical facts, that we are thankful to get, in the astronomy of Garga, evidence of the conquest of India as far down as Patna by the Bactrian Greeks, in the second century B.C. Many of our readers are aware that the profound scholar Dr. Goldstucker discovered mention of this invasion of Oude by the Greeks in Patanjali's work, and has thus fixed the date of Patanjali, the author of Mahabhasya and of the Yoga Philosophy.

But we will proceed with Garga. "The unconquerable Yavanas (Greeks) will not remain in the middle-country. There will be a cruel, dreadful war among themselves. Then, after the destruction of the Greeks at the end of the Yuga, seven powerful kings will reign in Oude." We are then told, that after the Greeks the rapacious Sakas were the most powerful, and we have little difficulty in recognising in them the Yu-Chi conquerors, who destroyed the kingdom of Bactria about 130 B.C. These new conquerors continued to repeat their depredations, and the annals of Garga here come to an end. From the details given above, Dr. Kern is right in placing Garga in the first century before Christ.

We now proceed to some of the other Siddhantas, viz:—The five Siddhantas which are known as the Pancha-siddhanta, and on which Varahamihira based his work the Pancha-siddhantika in the sixth century.

They are the *Brahma* or Paitamaha, the *Surya* or Saura, the *Vasishtha*, the *Romaka*, and the *Pulisa*.

The ancient Brahma or Paitamaha Siddhanta seems to have been entirely superseded by the celebrated work of Brahmagupta known as the Sphuta-Brahma Siddhanta. Alberuni obtained a copy of this last work in the eleventh century, and speaks of it in his account of India.

The Surya Siddhanta is a famous work, but the original work has been so often recast and recompiled that the original is lost to us. We do not know the date of the original work, except that it must have been composed in the Buddhist Age; and we do not know when the work was recast finally in the shape in which we have it now, except that it was in the Puranic Age.

Utpala, the commentator of Varahamihira, lived in the tenth century, and quotes six slokas from the Surya-Siddhanta of his day, not one of which slokas, as Dr. Kern points out, is to be found in the present edition of the Siddhanta. Nevertheless, "the Surya-Siddhanta in its present edition is a lineal and legitimate descendant of the work mentioned by Varahamihira as one of his authorities."*

The work, as we find it now, is divided into fourteen chapters, and treats of the mean places and true places of planets, of questions on time, of the eclipses of the moon and the sun, of the conjunction of planets and stars, of the heliacal rising and setting of planets and stars, of the phases of the moon and the position of the moon's cusps, of the declination of the sun and the moon, of cosmography, of the construction of astronomical instruments, and of the different kinds of time.†

The Vasishtha-Siddhanta is ascribed by Alberuni to Vishnu Chandra, but Brahmagupta states more correctly that the ancient work was revised by Vishnu Chandra.

* Kern, *Brihat Sanhita* Preface, p. 46.
† See Whitney's translation or Bapudeva Sastri's translation.

A work pretending to be Vasishtha-Siddhanta now exists, but it is undoubtedly a modern work.

The Romaka-Siddhanta is ascribed, both by Brahmagupta and by Alberuni, to Sri Sena. A spurious and modern Romaka-Siddhanta exists which contains a horoscope of Jesus Christ, and an account of the kingdom of Baber, and of the conquest of Sindh by Akbar!

The Pulisa-Siddhanta was known to Alberuni, who obtained a copy of it, and he calls the author Paules the Greek. Professor Weber thinks that Pulisa the Greek may be identical with Paulus Alexandrinus, the author of an astrological work, the Eisagoge. Dr. Kern thinks this identification doubtful, although he has no doubt that Pulisa was a Greek.

These are the five famous Siddhantas which were compiled together by Varahamihira in the sixth century. Dr. Kern roughly dates them half way between Garga and Varahamihira,—*i.e.*, about 250 A.D.

Works in various other departments existed in the Buddhist Period, which are now lost to us. For instance, we learn with much interest that Nagnajit composed a work on architecture, sculpture, painting, and kindred arts.

Medicine appears to have made great progress in the Buddhist Age, when hospitals were established all over the country. The great writers on Hindu medicine, known as Charaka and Susruta, lived and wrote in the Buddhist Age. But their works seem to have been recast in the Puranic Age, and we will speak of them when we come to treat of that age.